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J.-K. HUYSMANS AND GEORGE MOORE

AFTER 1865 in England, when the interlude of the influence of German culture was closing, a reawakened admiration for the French spirit and a desire to imitate the French forms and movements arose, but the introduction of naturalism into England came only when its scabrous corpse was being interred in France. George Moore's earlier works, from the *Flowers of Passion* in 1878 to *A Modern Lover* in 1883, reflect his Parisian sojourn and the influence of Baudelaire and Zola.¹ But naturalism in France had given way about 1885 to the new school of impressionism and symbolism. J.-K. Huysmans, with *A Rebours* in 1884, had dared to abrogate his discipleship with the school of Médan, and the famous 'Manifesto of Five', signed in 1887, indexed the vigor and popularity of the idealistic reaction. While the trends were thus taking new shape, George Moore was not quiescent; though he had not yet decided how symbolism was to affect his writings, he produced a novel in 1886 from his temporary viewpoint. It was *A Drama in Muslin*; and he later stated that it was his re-editing of the theme of *A Doll's House*. The book in matter is banal, in treatment mediocre; its story is merely the husband-quest of the daughters of a bourgeois Dublin family, but it was written in a style new to Moore. He had read *A Rebours* and been struck with the new horizons of power opened to him; he, like Huysmans, had seen the insufficiency of Zola's descriptive mechanics, shorn of all delicacy and nuance, when it was question of reproducing the subtle and poetic lustre of the world. Therefore, he mingles with his recounting of bourgeois life the first heavy and laborious imitations of the precise word-images in the use of which Huysmans was most adroit. With a lumbering, unflavored touch, he contrives his similes, sometimes close in spirit to his model, sometimes far, as in this:

¹See below: Letter of Moore to James Huneker, and, also, A. J. Farmer, *Le Mouvement esthétique et 'dégénération' en Angleterre*, Paris, 1931, pp. 78 et seq.

"The evening had all the mystic charm of the corpse of a fragile maiden poetised by the ravages of a long malady and prepared, according to some antique rite, for a jewel-bespangled bier, eyelids and cheeks painted, hands set in sculptured poses, the finger-nails tinted with rose",² in which he forgets his analogy in detail which does not heighten the significance in any way. Continuing his description, two pages farther, he does once write down a Huysmans phrase: "purple was gathered like garments about the loins . . .",³ but there is still a sensation that he is working at a novel and unfamiliar art, and sweating over his chisels.

The device of 'correspondances', initiated by Baudelaire, carried on by Rimbaud and René Ghil to its ultimate refinement by Huysmans who made of it such skillful use that it never wearies or obtrudes unpleasantly upon the reader, likewise fascinated Moore and made him write such phrases as:

"red laughs that cajoled behind shadowy curtains . . ."⁴ "the sugary sweetness of the blondes, the salt flavors of the brunettes . . . this allegro movement of odors interrupted suddenly by the garlicky andante, deep as the pedal notes of an organ, that the perspiring arms of a fat chaperon slowly exhaled . . ."⁵

and this paragraph in which he runs riot with his confusions:

"Lengths of white silk clear as the note of violins playing in a minor key; white poplin falling into folds statuesque as the bass of a fugue by Bach; . . . tender green velvet, pastoral as hautboys heard beneath trees in a fair Arcadian vale; blue turquoise faille Française fanciful as the tinkling of a guitar twanged by a Watteau shepherd; gold brocade, sumptuous as organ tones swelling through the jewelled twilight of a nave; scarves and trains of midnight blue profound as the harmonic snoring of a bassoon; golden daffodils violent as the sound of a cornet . . ."⁶

Even for an amateur this catalogue is wretched; and too often in the book Moore degenerates into shoddy, careless similes, written without that spark which makes them breathe. Moore never learned, as Huysmans early did, to avoid the use of 'like' and 'as' whenever possible; in this little device lies the secret of much of Huysmans's efficacy. Nor did Moore ever possess the good taste or sense of fitness that the French writer employed.

In one or two other passages there exist examples of that rigorous language Huysmans excelled in using:

". . . stretched at length, she listens to the green air of the lawn, and her dreams ripple like water along a vessel's side . . . and when the life of the landscape is burnt out . . . she stands watching, her thoughts curdling

² *A Drama in Muslim*, London, 8th ed., p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

gently, the elliptical flight of the swallows through the gloom, and the flutter of the bats upon the dead sky",⁷ and

"The Dublin streets stare the vacant and helpless stare of a beggar selling matches on a doorstep . . . Look at the houses! Like crones in borrowed bonnets some are fashionable with flowers in the rotting window frames—others languish in silly cheerfulness like women living on the proceeds of the pawnshop; others—those with brass plates on the doors—are evil-smelling as the prescriptions of the threadbare doctor, bald as the bill of costs of the servile attorney".⁸

Though *A Drama in Muslin* limps along like one of Zola's easy virtuous ladies tricked out in attempts at spurious finery and cheap beads, it must be admitted that it is the first novel in English directly inspired by the symbolist movement in France.

In *A Mere Accident* (1887, reworked as *John Norton in Celibates*, 1895), George Moore, under the direct influence of *A Rebours*, presents a pale carbon copy of Des Esseintes, a beef-tea aesthete. The young Englishman, John Norton, suffers from the exigencies of existence and an uncomprehending mother. He dawdles with the monastic ideal as competently as Moore can make him; and Moore at that time knew little of the mediaeval spirit. Norton wishes, as he says, to make the world his monastery, to live the ascetic life in his own fashion. So he orders his room to be changed:

"He would have no carpet. He placed a small iron bed against the wall; two plain chairs, a screen to keep off the draught from the door, a small basin stand, such as you might find in a ship's cabin, and a *prie-dieu* were all the furniture he permitted himself",⁹

just as, earlier, Des Esseintes furnished his room

"with a little iron bedstead, a sham hermit's couch, fashioned of antique, forged and polished iron, the head and foot adorned with thick filigrees of blossoming tulips enlaced with vine branches and leaves. Once this had been part of a balustrade of an old hostel's superb staircase . . . For his table, he installed an antique *prie-dieu* . . ."¹⁰

These two passages well exemplify the difference between the Huysmans word-precision in which no detail is omitted because unseen or unworthy, and the vapid, stereotyped modes of writing practiced by George Moore. John Norton, beside Des Esseintes, is the veriest amateur, and the portrayal of his character never penetrates the sheerly external manifestations of the spirit; whereas Huysmans scorns such a Zolaesque technique and plunges into the hidden caves of conscience, disdaining naturalism which can do

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁹ *Celibates*, New York, 1926, p. 314.

¹⁰ *Against the Grain*, New York, 1922, p. 111.

nothing "when an ulcer of the soul—or indeed the most benign little pimple—is to be probed."¹¹ Moore's endeavors to make of John Norton a Des Esseintes, to produce the exotic perfumes of Huysmans's erudition, end in a mild English rose-water concoction; while he makes John Norton admire the household artist Turner, Huysmans is ravished only by such rarities as Roger Van der Weyden and Grünewald! Moore cannot forget his English heritage of sentimentality and melodrama; he must finish his story on a traditional note, but Huysmans freed *A Rebours* from all hampering and distracting intrigue, and wisely did not concern himself with plot or situation.

George Moore made only one attempt to invest himself with mystery; at all other times he delighted to reveal his weaknesses to the world. In 1888 *The Confessions of a Young Man* appeared, supposed to have been written by an Edward Dayne. Moore endeavors in this sometimes shockingly youthful book to make a great noise about his wickedness. He pants "for excess, for crime!"; trying to convince the readers that he is as morally corrupt, as unwholesomely evil, as his languid French prototype. He underlines his perversity:

"I was not dissipated, but I loved the abnormal".¹² "... feminine depravities in my affections. I am feminine, morbid, perverse. But above all perverse; almost everything perverse interests me, fascinates me . . ."¹³ "(These verses) in me aggravated the fever of the unknown, and whetted my appetite for the strange, abnormal and unhealthy in art".¹⁴ He burns incense, and endeavors to arrange his chambers like those of Des Esseintes:

"The drawing room was in cardinal red, hung from the middle of the ceiling and looped up to give the appearance of a tent; a faun, in terra cotta, laughed in the red gloom, and there were Turkish couches and lamps. The bedrooms were made unconventional with cushioned seats and rich canopies; and in picturesque corners there were censers, great church candlesticks and palms".¹⁵

He buys a cat and a python for pets, probably feeling unable to create a tortoise comparable to that of Des Esseintes. He tries to analyze a catalogue of authors, as Huysmans with genius did in *A Rebours*, but succeeds in writing only undistinguished and immature generalities. He now and then almost quotes from Huysmans: "the boudoir . . . amid dainty carved furniture of light yellow camphor-wood"¹⁶ becomes "the sensual lamplight of

¹¹ *Down There* (Là-Bas), Paris, 1928, p. 1.

¹² *The Confessions of a Young Man*, New York, 1917, p. 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁶ *Against the Grain*, p. 28.

yellow boudoirs"¹⁷ in Moore; "Des Esseintes ... opened the window slightly; like a high tapestry of black ermine the sky arose before him, black flecked with white"¹⁸ becomes "the great mysterious midnight, when he opens his casement and gazes into starry space."¹⁹

The English edition of *Des Esseintes* is a dabbler in superficialities which any adolescent could invent for himself. The Gordian knot of Huysmans's esoteric artificiality is resolved into a toothpick puzzle. But it is not more than proper that Moore, after drawing to such extents upon Huysmans, should offer him a verbal libation:

"Happily, I have *A Rebours* to read, that prodigious book, that beautiful mosaic . . . In hours like these a page of Huysmans is as a dose of opium, a glass of some exquisite and powerful liqueur . . . Huysmans goes to my soul like a gold ornament of Byzantine workmanship; there is in his style the yearning charm of arches, a sense of ritual, the passion of the mural, of the window".²⁰

It is fitting that his homage should be expressed in words worthy of Huysmans. The truth is that Moore lacked the genius to make these imitations great, and with a singular light-headedness scampers along in a mountain-goat buoyancy, utterly insensible to the cool pregnant chasms and the silent winding rivers below. His praise of art and literature rarely rings true or gains supporters, and his denunciations are set in the unthinking triteness of a society *débutante*: this bow-window is "dreadful", "a dreadful *garçon de café*", "miserable carriages", etc., whereas the little scorns of Huysmans grow into great blasting curses under the magic of his words.

Before he discards the fashion of introducing a type of decadent *Weltschmerz* into English fiction, Moore constructs one more character in *Mike Fletcher* (1889), a young and sensual animal possessing a certain robustness and sense of decency, a writer for a radical paper, humane, generous and immoral. He quests after new passions, untried pleasures, but is unsatisfied, always uneasy. Bequeathed money by a mistress, he finds that every indulgence is open to him, but satiation arrives prematurely:

"There was no taste in him for anything; he had eaten of the tree of knowledge, and with the rind in his teeth wandered an exile beyond the garden".²¹

He cries for rest and relief from the weariness of life:

"Oh, to slip back into the unconscious whence we came, and to pass forever from the buzzing of the Midges! To feel that sharp, cruel, implacable eternity of things melt, vanish, and dissolve. The ordinary run of

¹⁷ *The Confessions of a Young Man*, p. 63.

¹⁸ *Against the Grain*, p. 81.

¹⁹ *The Confessions of a Young Man*, p. 67.

²⁰ *The Confessions of a Young Man*, pp. 190-191.

²¹ *Mike Fletcher*, London, 1889, p. 262.

mortals do not see into the heart of things, nor do we except in terribly lucid moments . . ."²²

Like a gourmet, he longs "to taste the dark fruit of oblivion".²³ He dresses himself immaculately as though to go out for the evening, and shoots himself.

The stylistic qualities of the lengthy monologues, the abundance of paradox and the brilliant texture of metaphor recall a rather febrile Huysmans; and there is something quite depraved in seeing such a healthy-bodied young man beset by the pallid enervations of the soul which besieged Des Esseintes. The exhaustion of the two in their attacks upon pleasure binds them together, though Mike Fletcher is not as refined and ingenious as his counterpart. Des Esseintes tries to train a child to murder; Mike attempts to weave tragedy into a domestic woof; and both affect a Schopenhauerian pessimism in their views of the world.

After *Mike Fletcher* a new orientation occurs. George Moore will not endeavor again to set an æsthetic before us, with the exception of certain mild tendencies revealed in the character of Ulick Dean in *Evelyn Innes*. Good English bourgeois that Moore is beneath the veneer of acquired Parisian sophistication, he finds that he favors the more traditional English form of the novel. In *Evelyn Innes* (1898) he becomes less dogmatic, less preoccupied with theories, less—if possible—interesting. *Evelyn Innes* and its sequel, *Sister Teresa* (1901), which attempt to apply the Huysmans technique to the English middle-class, tell the story of an English opera-singer, born Catholic, who became a man's mistress, wearied of it, returned to religion, and at last entered a convent.

There exists a letter from George Moore to James Huneker, dated April 2, 1904:

"I admit I was influenced by Zola in the writing of my first three books: *A Modern Lover*, *A Mummer's Wife*, *A Drama in Muslin*. But *Evelyn Innes* was not suggested by Huysmans's book [presumably *En Route*, 1895]; it was conceived and planned before Huysmans's book was printed. Mary Robertson, the poetess, told me of some little French actress who had scruples of conscience about her lovers and went into a convent, but she could not remain there because the nuns were so childish; she was three and twenty, and most of the nuns were sixty, but they seemed to her like children. "What a wonderful subject for a volume," I said. "I must write that." I made the actress a singer, she couldn't act in a convent, and as I was under the spell of Wagner . . . I made her a Wagner singer. Huysmans writes of the convent from the outside, I write of the nuns from the inside. There is no faintest resemblance between me and Huysmans".²⁴

²² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

²⁴ Quoted in *Sterplejack*, by James Huneker, New York, 1922, p. 228.

Huneker says that Pearl Richards Craigie, 'John Oliver Hobbes', told him that she supplied Mr. Moore with 'local color' for the convent-scenes in *Sister Teresa*, having written and published a convent-novel. The statements in the above letter do not permit much theorizing about the influence of *En Route* on the two Moore novels, if they are taken seriously. But it is notorious that for George Moore recantation was not an unusual phenomenon. Early a worshipper of Flaubert, he later repudiated him, as he did Jane Austen. Huneker in an essay²⁵ amusingly points out that

"At one epoch Dublin never knew when beginning a fresh day whether her favorite son was a Catholic or Protestant".

Evelyn Innes herself, speaking for Moore, once muses:

"She could conceive nothing more interesting than the recantation by a man of genius of the ideas that had first inspired him".²⁶

In one sense Moore may be right; it is, and all unfortunately, a very small debt which he owes to Huysmans in these two volumes. The religious preoccupation of Durtal in *En Route* and Evelyn is the same; and the sad warfare of the flesh and spirit is somewhat similar. Evelyn goes on retreat to a convent, Durtal to La Trappe; both of them return to Catholicism at last after undergoing difficulties with the sacrament, confession and penance.

Moore was always concerned with Catholicism and Christianity; and his belief, as Huneker indeed revealed, had a weathervane's unease. In *A Drama in Muslin* he said that a church's

"tub of holywater, and German prints absurdly representing the sufferings of Christ bespoke the primitive belief, the coarse superstition of which the place was an immediate symbol",²⁷

and in *The Confessions of a Young Man* he cries:

"I would have held down my thumbs in the Colosseum that a hundred gladiators might die and wash me free of my Christian soul with their blood",²⁸

and he speaks of Christ as the "pale socialist of Galilee", saying "I hate Him, and deny His divinity".²⁹

Moore is at bottom a pagan, with Christianity twined around, grown into and festering his soul; while Huysmans's foundation-rock is that of Peter, though pagan mists are thick about it. Moore is a hesitant personality, not only in his word-choice but in his actions; Huysmans forges his iron always at one blow. *Evelyn Innes* and *Sister Teresa* represent a series of pendulum-swings in George Moore's life, and besides this vacilla-

²⁵ *Recantations of George Moore*, in *Variations*, New York, 1924, p. 25.

²⁶ *Evelyn Innes*, New York, 1915, p. 139.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 321.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

tion between pulpit and ambo, the two novels contain very little of interest. They are filled with these anti-Huysmans faults: mere catalogues of artists' names without the enticing accompaniment of spiritual analyses, amateurish characters, commonplace details, prosaic actions, mere soulless realism, generalizations, discussion of topics fashionable in the 1890's, the explanation of states in soul in the veriest hackneyed language, puerile cogitation on destiny and a middle-class proof of God's existence. Reminiscent of Huysmans, on the other hand, is an epicurean discussion of food in *Evelyn Innes* which reflects the French author's ability in nuance:

"... this soufflé is seasoned not with red pepper, which would produce an intolerable thirst, nor with ordinary pepper, which would be arid and tasteless, but with an intermediate pepper which will just give a zest to the last glass of champagne",³⁰

and the analyses of Wagnerian music which are, however, carried to exhausting length. Evelyn Innes is, one night, a prey of the curious sensation that she has been visited by a shadowy shape, the whole episode recalling Durtal's first night in La Trappe (in *En Route*), when he was visited by a succubus. Evelyn, on her visit to Wimbledon convent, as she stood near the fish-pond, was

"startled at a sudden gurgling sound; she rose, in time to see a shadowy shape sinking with a motion of fins amid the weeds".³¹ This recalls the experience of Durtal who, standing near the fish-pond at La Trappe, has his reflections interrupted by the noise of a body suddenly falling into the water:

"All at once in one of the water-rings a small dog-like head appeared holding a fish in its mouth; the beast raised itself a little out of the water, showed a thin body covered with fur, and gazed on Durtal quietly with its little black eyes".³²

George Moore doubtless felt it a trifle indiscreet to make an otter cause the splash that alarmed Evelyn. Upon another occasion, the singer

"thought of the fume of prayer ascending night and day from this convent as from a censer",³³

an image which occurs several times in Huysmans, in *The Cathedral*, and again in *En Route* where appears:

"A lamentable perfume went up like incense to Our Lady from a very sheaf of woes".³⁴

Evelyn Innes, as Sister Teresa in the sequel of that name, one night dreams a most curious dream, in which a satyr dressed as a priest celebrates Mass

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

³¹ *Evelyn Innes*, p. 423.

³² *En Route*, London, 192-7, p. 282.

³³ *Evelyn Innes*, p. 435.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

with a woman lying upon the altar, and gives the Host to Evelyn's companion so that they two can go to their rooms to defile it, an episode suggesting its counterpart related in *Down There*.³⁵ Sister Teresa struggles between "an inveterate sensuality and a sincere aspiration for the spiritual life", and Durtal's "icy intellectuality" must combat the desire for "debauches of sensuality." Evelyn, wanting to sing in the choir, realizes she cannot, for

"her voice was full of sex, and this music required the strange sexless timbre of the voices (of boys) which she had heard in Rome",³⁶ and one of Huysmans's favorite abhorrences is "a woman's voice in the holy place, for it still remains unclean";³⁷ and in *The Cathedral* he compliments the sexless quality of boys' voices. Both Evelyn and Durtal experience the painful sensation of being compelled to kneel too long. Similar parallels might be greatly extended.

Occasionally Moore produces some Huysmans-like metaphors in these later books, revealing the enduring dominance of the French author's spell. At the Sanctus, Evelyn feels that

"softer than rose-leaves or snow-flakes, belief had rained down upon her choked heart".³⁸

Sister Teresa, in an agony of sensuality,

"held her breasts in both hands, and bit her pillow like a neck".³⁹

Sister Teresa, nevertheless, is a deceiving book, despite Moore's statement that "he writes about convent life from the inside, while Huysmans does not." In *Sister Teresa* there is no study of mysticism nor motive; Evelyn enters Wimbledon convent because she cannot stand at the helm of her life, Durtal enters from a profound and æsthetic conviction of truth and necessity. Evelyn, the now frigid, now passionate singer vainly seeking peace, has little relation with the Durtal who, rocked by a spiritual explosion, tremendous and cataclysmic, chose, as Barbey d'Aurevilly phrased it, the foot of the Cross rather than the muzzle of the pistol. George Moore, in the spiritual meanness engendered by doubt and unbelief, could not refrain from adding a satirical innuendo, a sardonic sneer, to convent-life; he points out with a perverse glee the small frictions of a conventual existence in common. He emphasizes pettiness, creates ugly little incidents, as that in *Sister Teresa* when Evelyn strips St. Joseph's altar because she was not interested in him, to establish his questionable conclusions. In these two books Moore

³⁵ *Down There*, Paris, 1928, (originally *Là-Bas*), p. 61.

³⁶ *Evelyn Innes*, p. 210.

³⁷ *En Route*, p. 52.

³⁸ *Evelyn Innes*, p. 416.

³⁹ *Sister Teresa*, p. 70.

writes more tentatively and indefinitely than usual, afraid—or else unable—to wrestle with the metaphysical problems which arise.

By 1905, when *The Lake* was published, the ardor of his youth for Huysmans had dwindled, although the interest in Christianity still remained. *The Lake* is in a sense an offshoot of Huysmans, marking the repudiation by an independent spirit of its early models. The protagonist of the novel is Father Gogarty, a priest who, for love of a woman, renounces his priesthood. The work reveals a decided streak of pantheistic mysticism:

"But he and the trees were one, for there is but one life, one mother, one elemental substance out of which all has come . . ." ⁴⁰ "What is the earth but an impulse . . ." ⁴¹

as well as a new George Moore, writing a smoother surer style, but the prostrate adoration of Huysmans is now a mere nod. With *The Brook Kerith* (1916) the influence is more remote, remaining only in the continued interest in Christ, which, however, emanates antagonistically from the point of view diametric to mysticism—rationalistic. *Héloïse and Abelard* (1921) registers a few faint stirrings of the Parisian days in its antiquarian interest, but the interval of decadent æstheticism is well over.

Both Moore and Huysmans are artists, disdaining the mob. Moore, with an admirable persistence, advanced the frontier in English literature, following Huysmans in the extension of horizons, the unveiling of new paths. But unlike his French master, he is not lord of a beauty-laden prose; his attempts at unusual metaphor strain, but usually fall before they reach their effect; his judgment and taste are often questionable and unsure, and his critical opinions are broad-sown with hasty and impetuous indiscretion. Moore's affinity with Huysmans does not go farther than a certain sensuous sympathy. Because he could never follow Huysmans into that unrelieved brutality which was the genesis of inevitable reaction, Moore could never make that strange transformation of spirit which Huysmans made. He resisted mightily any translation of thought into action. But nonetheless from Huysmans he gained an interest in æstheticism, learned the technique of spiritualistic naturalism, and tried to sprinkle his pages with gold. Even Huysmans, however, was not thaumaturge enough to design for him a gown which could conceal the English squire beneath it.

S. M. STEWARD

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,
COLUMBUS, OHIO

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 50 (*The Lake*, New York, 1915).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

MISCELLANEOUS

LES POÉSIES DE MARGUERITE D'AUTRICHE

MARGUERITE d'Autriche a non seulement mérité d'être appelée "un grand politique," mais, intelligente et cultivée, fille d'un prince ami des lettres et des arts, elle a protégé, à sa cour de Malines, les poètes, les chroniqueurs, les peintres et les musiciens. La réputation d'un des plus célèbres des *rhétoriciens*, Jean Lemaire de Belges, a, d'ailleurs, contribué à donner à Marguerite une place à part dans la littérature. Dans quelle mesure cette princesse était-elle une femme de lettres? Les *Albums et Œuvres poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche* ont été publiés à Bruxelles en 1849, par Gachet; l'éditeur indique, dans sa lettre-préface, la difficulté qu'on éprouve à déterminer avec certitude l'œuvre propre de Marguerite. Ne se pourrait-il pas que certaines pièces, au moins, aient été composées par des personnages de sa cour? Doit-on considérer les *Albums* comme des recueils de poèmes célèbres, rassemblés par un scribe et transcrits souvent tels quels? Nous nous sommes efforcés, dans cette étude, d'analyser chacun des ms.,¹ dont l'ensemble a été publié sous le nom d'*Albums et Œuvres poétiques*.

Le ms. 10572 comprend 49 ff., couverts de la même écriture gothique, excepté le f. 21v que nous examinerons plus loin, et 23 f. blancs à la suite.²

Ce ms. peut être divisé en 3 parties que nous appellerons A, B, C. Le 1er vers du groupe A est écrit en caractères plus gros, plus décoratifs que le reste. La lettre majuscule L est dessinée avec grand soin. En tête du 1er rondeau, on lit *lung*, en tête du 2e, *Laultre*; dans la marge du 1er *Tnidez*; dans celle du 2e, *Itocipu*. *Lung* se plaint de la perte de sa dame; *Laultre* trouve une consolation en s'adressant à d'autres maîtresses. Puis vient une ballade avec réponse. Il y a toujours les 2 personnages *Lung* et *Laultre*. Dans la marge de la 1ère ballade, on voit le mot *Knidex*; dans celui de la 2e, *Etocipi*. On sait qu'on doit lire ces noms, comme ceux que l'on trouve dans la marge de la plupart des poésies de ce ms., en supprimant la 1ère et la dernière lettre et en lisant à rebours. Ainsi, nous voyons 2 fois la même paire de noms: *Edin* et *Picot*. Comme dans les rondeaux, *Lung* exprime des sentiments de tristesse et de mélancolie, *Laultre* pense qu'on ne doit pas trop pleurer la perte de l'amour d'une jeune fille, ni s'imaginer qu'il n'en existe pas d'aussi belle; et puis, dit-il, la beauté disparaît

¹ Ce sont les ms. 10572, 11239, 228 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, à Bruxelles, et la *Complainte* qui se trouve dans les ms. II, 119, ff. 132 à 133, et 14864-5, ff. 18v à 19, de la Bibliothèque Royale.

² Au f. 1 de ce ms., se trouve le cachet de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Beaucoup de ms. bruxellois furent en effet emportés à Paris, à la suite de l'occupation française des Pays-Bas, en 1745 et en 1794; ils furent restitués, les uns, par le traité de Versailles de 1757, les autres par le traité de Paris de 1815.

bientôt "comme beauté de rose." Enfin, dans un *dictier en dyalogue*, *Lung* et *Laultre* se répondent. Dans la marge, on a indiqué *lung est znidex*, et *Laultre est Atocipo*. Voilà donc encore nos deux personnages *Edin* et *Picot*. *Lung* se plaint d'être délaissé, *Laultre* conseille la résignation quand on n'a pas "celle que le cueur veut"; d'ailleurs, on "peult trouver son bien en mariage," et on doit se trouver heureux de servir une "maîtresse bien bonne, grande princesse magnifique", à qui il suffit de parler pour obtenir ce qu'on désire; grâce à elle, on peut trouver "ung mariaige . . . noble bon bel riche."

La partie B va du f. 12 au f. 23; elle ne comprend que des rondeaux, dont l'un est incomplet. Le 1er vers du 1er rondeau de ce groupe est: "Fortune fortunait for une"; ce vers rappelle la fameuse devise de Marguerite; il est écrit en caractères plus gros, plus décoratifs que les autres vers; la lettre *F* est d'un dessin recherché qui ressemble beaucoup à celui de la lettre *L* au commencement du 1er vers du ms. Sur chaque feuillet, à la suite du f. 12, se trouve un rondeau sans titre; dans la marge de tous les rondeaux,—sauf aux ff. 15, 17, 19, 22, 22v et 23, et au f. 21v. qui est à part,—il y a les noms de différents personnages. Le f. 21v. contient une poésie d'un caractère assez différent de celui des pièces précédentes; c'est un rondeau à 2 strophes de 5 vers; le 9e et le 10e vers qui sont la répétition du 4e et du 5e ne sont pas complètement inscrits; après le 10e vers, le refrain est composé des 4 premières syll. du 1er vers; il manque donc une strophe de 3 vers, suivie du refrain. En haut du f. 21v., entre parenthèses, on lit la mention suivante: "chanson faite par Semadams." On a dit³ que cette pièce était entièrement de la main de Marguerite d'Autriche. L'écriture de cette poésie est penchée, cursive; si on la compare à l'écriture qu'on peut attribuer à Marguerite d'Autriche, on s'aperçoit⁴ que la pièce du ms. 10572 peut ne pas avoir été écrite par Marguerite. Les 3 rondeaux qui suivent cette pièce sont de la même écriture gothique que ceux qui la précèdent.

Ainsi, en exceptant la pièce du f. 21v., on a un groupe de 22 rondeaux qui, à peu près tous, traitent des sentiments amoureux à la mode, sauf le 1er qui semble s'appliquer particulièrement aux malheurs de Marguerite et le 2e qui est une prière à la Vierge.⁵ La pièce du f. 21v. se rattache par son inspiration au 1er rondeau de ce groupe. Quant aux 3 derniers rondeaux du groupe B, il semble qu'on ait là l'expression des plaintes d'un courtisan qui s'adresse à

³ Max Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche*, p. 166, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. ms. 9503-4, à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique; ce ms. provient de la bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche. Sur le f. 4, on lit: "Ce livre est a madame Marguerite dansteriche et de bourgonne duchesse de savoie veve"; puis, à la ligne suivante "est de la main delle meisme", et plus bas, "ce livre est a madame de savoie."

Cf. Quinsonas, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de Marguerite d'Autriche* (2 vols., Paris, 1860; II, 375), où se trouve une reproduction d'une lettre de Marguerite d'Autriche à son beau-frère, Charles III, duc de Savoie; cette lettre se termine par les mots: "votre bonne sœur Marguerite." Pourtant, une lettre autographe (Minute, Arch. Nord, L. M., no. 35314) de Marguerite d'Autriche à son père, signée: "Vostre treshumble et tresobeissante fille Marguerite", est une écriture très semblable à celle de la poésie du ms. 10572.

⁵ Le 1er vers de ce rondeau n'a que 8 syll., tandis que les autres en ont 10:

"Dame qu'estes de Dieu la fille
qui conceustes vostre souverain pere."

Ne pourrait-on pas ajouter les mots *et mere* qui complèteraient le 1er vers et rimerait avec *pere*?

Madame. Il dit que la vieillesse menace, et qu'il n'acquiert rien au service de sa maîtresse.

Dans le groupe A, qui comprend les ff. 1 à 11v., toutes les pièces se répondent. Dans le groupe B, du f. 12 au f. 23, il n'y a que quelques rondeaux qui sont écrits en "responce" à d'autres; ce sont les rondeaux des ff. 15v, 16v, 17v. Le nom de *Picot* est inscrit en marge des ff. 15v, 16, 16v et 17v, c'est-à-dire en marge des réponses, et aussi en marge du rondeau auquel celui du f. 16v répond. Or ce rondeau du f. 16, *Baiser vous dois par raison pieds et mains*, se retrouve dans d'autres ms.⁶ On voit donc que les rondeaux en marge desquels il n'y a point de noms sont ceux des ff. 15 et 17;—chacun de ces rondeaux est, d'ailleurs, étroitement relié à celui qui le suit—les 3 rondeaux des ff. 22 à 23, qui expriment, tous, les mêmes sentiments, les mêmes plaintes, et le rondeau du f. 19; mais ce rondeau a été publié dans le *Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique*.⁷ Cette poésie fut composée⁸ pour Isabeau Faucon dont le nom se trouve en acrostiche.

La partie C du ms. commence au f. 24; entre cette série et la précédente, il y a un f. blanc. C'est une ballade que nous trouvons en tête de ce groupe. Le 1er vers, *Tres haulte tres puissante dame*, est écrit avec le même soin, le même souci décoratif que le 1er vers du ms. et que le 1er vers du f. 12. En marge de cette ballade, on lit *zama temado* (ma dame). Sur le f. 25 se trouve l'envoi et, séparé par un peu d'espace, commence tout de suite un rondeau avec le refrain *Madame*. Cette dernière série comprend 47 rondeaux et la ballade dédiée à Marguerite. Dans la marge de tous les rondeaux, sauf les 4 derniers, sont inscrits les noms de différents personnages. Le rondeau du f. 26, *belles paroles en paiement*, a, dans la marge, la mention: *usez osellify*, qu'on a cru devoir lire *ses filles*, quoiqu'on ne puisse pas trouver le mot *ses* dans *usez*, si le même système d'écriture a été employé ici que pour les autres noms écrits dans la marge

⁶ Cf. *Bulletin du Bibliophile belge*, III, 1846, 244. Il semble que ce rondeau existe à la fois dans le ms. 402 de la Bibliothèque de Lille et dans le ms. Jean de Saxe, à Dresde. Nous trouvons quelques variantes; dans notre ms., nous lisons:

"Et la bouche aussi ne plus ne mains" . . .
 "Comme a la plus bonne belle et saige" . . .
 "Les piedz premier. . ."
 "Comme dame ou sont tous biens haultains
 A qui je suis de cuer et de couraige
 Puis la bouche mest debu d'avantaige
 Comme amoureux qui souffre des mal mains",

tandis que notre leçon du ms. 402 est:

"Et la bouche certes nom plus ne mains" . . .
 "Comme a la plus tant belle bonne et saige" . . .
 "Premier les piez. . ."
 "Comme la dame ou sont tous biens haultains
 Et que je sers de cuer et de courage
 La bouche apres mest deue davantage
 Comme amoureux qui seuffre de maulx mains".

⁷ *Op. cit.*, f. CXXII, avec 1 variante; dans le ms. 10572, nous lisons:

"ayant au cuer ennuyt et griefz tourment
 bannye suis de tout desbatement"

tandis que la leçon du *Jardin* est:

"Ayant ennuy du soubdain partement
 Banye ma. . ."

⁸ Cf. *op. cit.*, II, 246.

des ff. du ms.; ce rondeau se retrouve au f. 41, avec la mention: *ce rondel est desia devant*, dans la marge. Le rondeau du f. 46v a été imprimé avec quelques variantes dans le *Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique*.⁹ Le 1er rondeau de cette série semble être écrit par une femme: *Je suis une aultre atbalanta, une Penthasile*. L'avant-dernier rondeau est aussi d'une femme: *Que puis-je mais se ne suis belle*; le dernier expose les griefs d'une personne qui sert bien grant maistresse, mais reste toujours aussi pauvre, car *conte on ne tient de [sa] clamour*.

Etudions maintenant les personnages dont les noms sont indiqués dans les marges.¹⁰ Le personnage le plus cité est probablement Pierre Picot qui, en 1515, était médecin de Madame. Aubigny était peut-être le seigneur qui était présent à la cérémonie de "délivrance" de Marguerite d'Autriche, le 16 mai 1483.¹¹ Edin, ou Jean d'Ostin, dit Hesdin, était un des hommes de confiance de la cour. D'après E. Gachet, Bouton serait Claude Bouton, qui fut capitaine des gardes de l'archiduc Charles Quint; mais ce pourrait être aussi Philippe Bouton qui était parmi les gentilshommes chargés d'accompagner Marguerite dans son voyage à travers la France, à son retour d'Espagne, en 1499. Ce même Philippe Bouton, père de Claude, et cousin d'Olivier de la Marche, est l'auteur du *Miroir des Dames*, dans lequel on avait voulu voir mention de Marguerite d'Autriche, tandis qu'en fait c'est probablement Marie de Bourgogne,¹² à laquelle Bouton fait allusion. Pourtant, la devise de Claude Bouton était *souvenir tue*; or, une des pièces du ms. 10572, celle du f. 20, commence par *Souvenir tue et soir et main*; dans la marge de ce rondeau, on voit *Unotuobz*, qu'il faut lire *Bouton*. Monseigneur de Boussu était probablement Jean de Hennin-Liétard, seigneur et, plus tard, comte de Boussu, mort à Boussu, le 12 février 1562.¹³

Monseigneur de Poupet désigne Charles de Poupet, seigneur de la Chaulx, ambassadeur du roi de Castille et de l'empereur auprès du roi d'Aragon, dont nous trouvons des lettres dans le recueil de Le Glay. La Baume représente-t-il Gui de la Baume, comte de Montrevel, seigneur de la Roche et d'Irlens, attaché à la personne de Philibert le Beau, puis chevalier d'honneur de Marguerite, ou bien est-ce un de ses fils, Claude, qui occupa la plupart des offices paternels, ou Marc dont la fille fut une demoiselle d'honneur de Marguerite? Le bâtard de

⁹ *Op. cit.*, f. CXV v. dont la leçon est:

"Au plus offrant ma dame est mise
Et dernier encherisseur . . .
"Car donner me porte malheur
Ainsi jay laisse lentreprinse".

La leçon du ms. 10572 est: . . .

"et en dernier encherisseur . . .
"car dame me porte malheur
Aussy je quicte lentreprise."

¹⁰ J'indique entre parenthèses le nombre de fois que ces noms sont inscrits: Picot (21), Aubigny (8), la Baume (5), Edin (3), mademoiselle de Baude (3), Bouton (2), le président de Dole (2), le bastard de Bourbon (2), ma dame (2), mademoiselle Planci (1), mademoiselle Huclam (1), mon serviteur (1), la Foy (1), Nansuo (1), Beavoir (1), demoiselle de Vere (1), monseigneur Duselle (1), Ecorne (1), Sauvage filz du president de Brabant (1), monseigneur de Poupet (1), monseigneur de Boussu (1).

¹¹ Cf. Max Bruchet, *op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 5.

¹² Cf. A. Piaget, *Recueil des Travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres*, Neuchâtel, II, 1908, pp. 7-9; *Romania*, XLVII, 1921, p. 179.

¹³ Cf. Le Glay, *Négociations entre la France et l'Autriche*, t. II, p. 637.

Bourbon est le personnage qui offrit son concours à Marguerite, en 1511, quand la guerre menaça d'éclater entre le duc de Savoie Charles III et les Suisses. Il semble que les demoiselles Planci, Huclam, Baude, Vere, aient été des demoiselles d'honneur de Marguerite. On a pensé, d'abord, que les noms inscrits dans la marge des ff. indiquaient les auteurs des poésies; mais, en examinant la composition des pièces des *Albums*, on remarque une certaine uniformité de technique.¹⁴

Si l'on compare entre eux les rondeaux de Picot, ou ceux d'Aubigny, on ne trouve pas de ressemblance plus marquée que celle qui existe avec les autres rondeaux. Rien ne donne l'impression qu'un auteur particulier ait laissé un cachet spécial aux pièces dans la marge desquelles se trouve le même nom. On pourrait, beaucoup plus facilement, penser que l'ensemble de ce ms. est l'œuvre d'une seule et même personne, puisque les rondeaux de la partie C du ms. ressemblent beaucoup à ceux de la partie A. Quant aux rondeaux du groupe B, ils ne sont pas très différents de ceux des 2 autres groupes. Dans le *Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique*, publié vers 1501, les rondeaux de 10 vers voisinent avec ceux de 13 vers; la technique employée dans ce recueil correspond, d'ailleurs, exactement à l'arrangement des rimes des rondeaux du ms. 10572.

Quelle est donc la raison de ces mots écrits dans la marge des ff. du ms.? On peut y voir une intention ironique à l'égard de ces personnages. Le bâtard de Bourbon semble être l'objet de moqueries, dans les rondeaux en marge desquels est inscrit son nom. De même, un rondeau qui commence par *Le tout va mal par grant variete*, comme le rondeau, *Le tout va mal et sans loy est la terre*, semble indiquer un tour un peu doctrinaire et sentencieux; on pourrait voir là une intention caustique ou satirique envers un personnage habitué à rendre des arrêts. Or, en marge de ces 2 rondeaux, se trouve la mention: *Le Président de Dôle*. Ou, souvent, bien plus simplement, comme, par exemple, dans le rondeau, *Tant de gens savaie en ce monde*, il y a une allusion à un personnage, *Sauvaige*, dont le nom est en marge du f.; le rondeau, *Souvenir tue*, rappelle la devise de Bouton dont le nom est dans la marge. De même, dans la marge du rondeau, *Fortune Infortune fort une*, se trouve la mention: *ma dame*; en marge de la prière à la Vierge, on lit: *nostre dame*. Il semble ainsi que ces mots dans la marge ne correspondent pas aux différents auteurs des poèmes; mais, au contraire, qu'ils indiquent des personnages auxquels on a dédié rondeaux ou ballades. Il est possible qu'un seul auteur ait composé ou réuni ces poésies,

¹⁴ Etudions les 3 parties du ms. 10572; nous trouvons que dans le groupe A, du f. 1 au f. 12, il y a 1 rondeau avec réponse, rimant a b b a, a b R, a b b a R; puis 1 ballade, avec réponse, rimant 3 (a b a b b c b C) + b c b C, de vers de 10 syll.; et un *dictier* formé de 26 huitains dont 25 riment a b a b b c c et d'un huitain rimant a b a b c c c; dans la marge de chacune de ces pièces on trouve le nom de Picoq ou celui d'Edin. Dans la série B, du f. 12 au f. 23, il y a 22 rondeaux rimant a b b a, a a b R, a a b b a R; en marge de 16 rondeaux, est inscrit le nom de différents personnages. Il y a aussi une "chanson" rimant a b b a, a a b b a R. Le groupe C (f. 24 au f. 49), comprend 1 ballade: 3 (a b a b b c b C) + b c b C, de vers de 8, syll., avec la mention *ma dame*, dans la marge, et 47 rondeaux rimant a b b a, a b R, a b b a R, parmi lesquels 1 rondeau qui a déjà été inscrit. Dans la marge de 40 de ces rondeaux, il y a le nom de différents personnages dont 2, *Picot* et *Aubigny* ont déjà été trouvés ailleurs, *Picot* dans les groupes A et B, *Aubigny* dans la marge d'un des rondeaux du groupe B.

puisque quelques-unes semblent déjà anciennes; L. Tilmant¹⁵ fait d'ailleurs remarquer avec raison que les 3 derniers rondeaux du groupe B et le dernier du groupe C expriment, tous, les plaintes d'une personne de la cour qui attend encore la récompense de ses longs services. Est-ce un des chevaliers de Marguerite, un des ses courtisans, ou une de ses demoiselles d'honneur? Dans le rondeau, du f. 22, on voit: *Madame ayes en memoire celluy*; mais dans le rondeau du f. 48v, il s'agit d'une femme. N'a-t-on pas plus de chance de trouver l'auteur de ces poèmes, en étudiant les pièces dans la marge desquelles il n'y a rien d'écrit que dans les autres compositions? Non seulement les noms, inscrits dans la marge, ne dévoilent pas l'auteur, mais ils contribuent peut-être à le cacher.¹⁶ On verra ainsi que justement les poèmes, qui expriment une certaine amertume, et des plaintes personnelles, sont parmi ceux en marge desquels il n'y a pas de nom. Le ms. 10572 nous semble être une compilation, un florilège de poèmes rassemblés par quelque courtisan qui cherche à flatter Marguerite, *grande princesse magnétique, dame déifique*, et aussi à lui exposer les griefs de quelqu'un qui est mal récompensé, tout en mêlant, à ces pièces personnelles, certains rondeaux qui font partie du répertoire général des poèmes de l'époque. L'originalité, en général, n'est pas grande. L'auteur ou les auteurs paraissent s'être contentés de prendre certaines œuvres et d'y changer quelques mots pour exprimer les sentiments qui convenaient aux circonstances; ce sont des centons, faits de pièces et de morceaux. Doit-on mettre à part la *chanson* et l'attribuer à Marguerite? C'est peu probable, car le seul indice que nous ayons est la mention qu'on lit en tête de ce rondeau incomplet, et l'écriture n'est peut-être pas celle de Marguerite, comme on l'avait cru.

Le ms. 11239 contient des chansons avec de la musique. En tête des chansons, sur des banderoles, est le nom de divers musiciens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe siècle:¹⁷ Delarue (3), Compere (2), Agricola (2), Brumel (1), A. Bruhier (1), H. Isac (1). Les poésies sont d'inégale longueur; il y en a de 13 vers et d'autres de 2 vers. Nous trouvons 5 rondeaux complets ou à peu près complets,¹⁸ le commencement de 6 autres¹⁹ et les premiers vers de 2 rondeaux²⁰ que nous étudierons plus loin. Ce qui frappe, tout d'abord, pourtant, c'est une certaine uniformité de ton. Au début, 7 poésies expriment les mêmes sentiments de mélancolie, et les premiers vers contiennent le mot *regret*. Il faut pourtant dire qu'à côté de versets tirés de la Bible, on trouve des pièces d'un caractère très différent. Il y a des chansons d'amour dont une est tout particulièrement érotique. Cette poésie a été publiée par G. Paris parmi les *Chansons du XVe Siècle* (Paris, 1875), avec 5 strophes

¹⁵ L. Tilmant, "Les Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche," *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique de Malines*, XI, 1901, pp. 129-149.

¹⁶ Ce n'est, pourtant, pas l'opinion que Mlle de Boom a exprimée dans ses très intéressants articles du *Flambeau*, de novembre, 1931, et de février, 1932.

¹⁷ Les nombres entre parenthèses indiquent combien de fois les musiciens sont nommés dans ce ms.

¹⁸ Deux rondeaux a b b a, a b R, a b b a R aux ff. 7v à 8 et 27v à 28; 1 rondeau a a b b a, a a b R; a a b b a R au f. 28; 2 rondeaux incomplets, l'un a b b a, a a b R, a a b b a R aux ff. 2v à 4, et l'autre a a b b a, a b a R, a a b R, aux ff. 6v à 7.

¹⁹ Aux ff. 4v à 6; 8v à 9; 9v à 11; 13v à 14; 18v à 20; 21v à 23.

²⁰ Le 1er vers d'un rondeau qui se trouve au f. 22 du ms. 228, rimant a b b a, a a b R, a a b b a R, et 2 vers d'un rondeau (ff. 3v à 6 du ms. 228) rimant a b b a, a b R, a b b a R.

de 3 vers. Le ms. 11239 contient la 1^{ère} et la 3^e strophe avec une variante: *qui me frota la nuyt souvant* au lieu de *qui fust de l'aage de trente ans* de la chanson publiée par G. Paris. On doit aussi noter l'existence de motets composés suivant les habitudes traditionnelles; dans le motet des ff. 11v à 13, 3 voix chantent un rondeau d'amour profane en français et 1 voix des paroles latines d'une prière à Dieu; dans le motet des ff. 27v à 28, 2 voix chantent les paroles françaises d'un rondeau d'amour, la basse un verset du Cantique des Cantiques, *Anima mea liquefacta est*. . . Ces 2 motets se retrouvent dans le ms. 228 avec la même notation musicale. Il y a aussi des chansons à plusieurs voix en latin. La part donnée à la musique est très grande; on ne trouve quelquefois que quelques mots d'une pièce qui est inscrite ailleurs en entier, comme c'est le cas pour le rondeau, *Revenez tous regretz*, (ff. 11v à 12) qui se trouve complet dans le ms. 228, ff. 19v à 20, et commence par *Revenez tous regretz je vous convie*; ainsi, plusieurs pièces se rencontrent à la fois dans les ms. 11239 et 228, ce sont celles des ff. 6v à 7, 9v à 10, 11v à 12, 14v à 15, 18v à 20, 23v à 24, 27v à 28. Une pièce, celle des ff. 25v à 27, a été publiée dans le *Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique*,²¹ mais, dans notre ms., on ne trouve que 8 vers, tandis que, dans le *Jardin*, est imprimée une ballade formée de l'assemblage de 32 *incipit*.²² Les rondeaux incomplets des ff. 4v à 6 et 9v à 11 du ms. 11239 ont respectivement le même premier vers que les rondeaux 14 et 253 du ms. 402 de la Bibliothèque de Lille et du ms. du prince Jean de Saxe à Dresde.²³

En tête du f. 20v., se trouve une inscription au crayon, et d'une écriture moderne: "Ockeghem (ms. Baseri)"; de même, en tête du f. 25v.: "Nino le petit (ms. Baseri)".

Ce ms. est donc presque uniquement un recueil de chansons où la musique occupe la première place. Les noms qu'on lit en tête des ff. indiquent les musiciens célèbres de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe siècle,

²¹ Cf. *op. cit.*, t. I, LXII; t. II, p. 112.

²² Dans le *Jardin*, on lit:

"Je languiray triste et pensif
Se nay vostre grace requise"

Tandis que la leçon de notre ms. est:

"Je languiray triste et mary
Se jay vostre grace requise"

en remarquant, d'ailleurs, dans notre ms., une fois la version *se ja*. Il semble donc que le scribe ait été particulièrement négligent et que le sens du vers soit complètement faussé par sa version. Cette pièce, composée de plusieurs chansons, contient un vers, *une foyz avant que morir*, qui sert de titre à un air de danse, dans le ms. 9085, transcrit par Closson, f. 13; pourtant, Closson indique, "comme un fait caractéristique, qu'aucune de nos (celles du ms. 9085) mélodies ne figure dans les recueils connus sous le nom d'Albums de Marguerite d'Autriche." Pour Closson, il ne s'agit que de "fausses reconnaissances."

²³ *Bulletin du Bibliophile belge*, t. III, 1846, pp. 236-249. Le rondeau 14 est complet dans le Ms. 402, la 1^{ère} strophe est presque identiquement la même que celle du ms. 11239 avec un seul mot qui est différent dans les 2 ms.: *ame* dans le ms. 402; *nulluy* dans le ms. 11239. Le rondeau 253 est complet dans le ms. 402, la 1^{ère} strophe est presque identiquement la même dans les 2 ms. Ce rondeau est aussi dans le ms. 1719 de la Bibl. Nat., f. 111, et a été publié par Quicherat, parmi les vers de Henri Baude; le 1^{er} rondeau du ms. 11239 se trouve dans le ms. 1719 de la Bibl. Nat., f. 30 vo. [Cf. M. Schwob, *Le Parnasse Satyrique du XVe Siècle*, (Paris, 1905); il a été publié par Bancel, avec quelques variantes, dans les 145 *Rondeaux d'amours*.

Martin Agricola, P. de la Rue, A. Brumel, Loyset Compere, H. Isac, A. Bruhier ou Brugier. Nino le Petit²⁴ semble aussi être un musicien néerlandais de cette époque. Quant à Ockeghem, il est le chef de l'école contrapuntique qui compte de nombreux et illustres musiciens. C'est lui que cite Rabelais dans le *Nouveau Prologue du Quart Livre de Pantagruel*.²⁵ Tous ces artistes sont les véritables fondateurs de la musique moderne qui, loin de nous être venue d'Italie, comme le disent Musset et Hugo en des vers pleins de lyrisme, semble avoir été créée par Binchois, et par les artistes bourguignons et flamands.

Le ms. 228 est le plus beau des 3 ms. qui composent les *Albums*; il est bien plus somptueux que le ms. 11239, et, comme ce dernier, il contient de la musique. La décoration fastueuse ne se continue pas dans tout le ms.; le f. 18 est le dernier qui contienne une marge ornée de fleurs; les autres ff. ne sont plus agrémentés, en général, que de majuscules d'un dessin compliqué. On ne trouve qu'un nom; c'est, au f. 27v., celui de Josquin Després; au f. 56v. on voit: .IHS. et .MA.

Ce ms. est moins homogène que les précédents. Il y a des rondeaux,²⁶ un poème en flamand, puis 13 morceaux, soit chansons, soit refrains²⁷ et des motets polyphoniques, à 3 ou 4 voix dont une chante un verset en latin et les autres un texte profane en français. Tantôt c'est au ténor que sont confiées les paroles latines, tantôt c'est à la basse. Il y a aussi des motets entièrement en latin.

Nous retrouvons, dans le ms. 228, un certain nombre de pièces que nous avons déjà rencontrées ailleurs: 2 motets et 4 rondeaux, soit complets soit fragmentaires, du ms. 11239; une chanson, la fameuse chanson faite par Madame, et le commencement d'un rondeau, *Las belas seray je repris*,²⁸ du ms. 10572. Aux ff. 4 et 4v, se trouve une strophe²⁹ que nous avions déjà rencontrée dans le ms. 11239. Ce rondeau a été publié dans le recueil appelé *La Chasse et le Départ d'amours*,³⁰ publié en 1509. Ce rondeau serait l'œuvre d'Octovien de Saint-Gelais ou de Henri Baude. De même, le rondeau des ff. 22v et 23 correspond exactement au rondeau n° 42³¹ du ms. 402 de Lille et du ms. du prince Jean de Saxe. Ce rondeau a été publié dans les *Rondeaux au nombre de trois cens cinquante*, dont la première édition datée est de 1527. Le rondeau des ff. 40v. à 42 ressemble au rondeau 76 du ms. 402 de Lille et de celui de Jean de Saxe.³² Aux ff. 15v. et 16 de notre ms. un rondeau commence par *Je n'ay deuil que je ne suis morte*. Mlle Droz et M. Piaget signalent que les chansons qui com-

²⁴ Cf. Vander Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles, 1882, t. 6, p. 474.

²⁵ Cf. F. de Menil, *L'Ecole contrapuntique flamande au XVe et au XVIe Siècle*, Paris, 1905.

²⁶ Sept rondeaux complets: aabba, aabR, aabbaR; puis 1: aabba, baR, baaR; 5: abba, abR, abbaR; 1, formé de 2 strophes aabba; puis le commencement de plusieurs autres rondeaux: la 1ère strophe de 13 rondeaux rimant aabba, la 1ère strophe de 8 rondeaux abba.

²⁷ Deux chansons aabb, bccb, cbcb, et 1 formée de 3 strophes aabba.

²⁸ Ce rondeau se trouvait en entier dans le ms. 10572, au f. 14, en marge duquel on lisait le nom d'Aubigny.

²⁹ Cf. p. 13, n. 22; c'est le rondeau 252 du ms. 402.

³⁰ Cf. F. Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs de Poésies au XVIe Siècle*, pp. 12-15 et 532.

³¹ Le rondeau 65 du ms. 402 commence par le même vers que le rondeau 42; mais le reste est très différent. Le rondeau du f. 42 du ms. 402 de Lille a été publié, avec quelques variantes, par Bancel dans le recueil *145 Rondeaux d'amours*.

³² Deux premières strophes du rondeau 76 du ms. 402 sont à peu près identiques à celles du rondeau du ms. 228; la 3e strophe est très différente dans les 2 ms.

mencement par *Je n'ay deuil . . .* sont nombreuses; mais que leur texte est toujours différent de celui du *Jardin*.

Dans le *Jardin*, se trouve aussi le rondeau complet (f. XCV) dont une seule strophe est inscrite aux ff. 17v et 18.³³ Les 4 vers des ff. 26v et 27 correspondent presque exactement³⁴ à l'épithaphe de l'amant vert dans la 1ère *Épître de l'Amant Vert* de Jean Lemaire de Belges. La chanson qui commence par ce vers, *Plus nulz regretz grans moyens ne menuz*, avait été attribuée à Molinet; elle a été publiée dans les œuvres de Jean Lemaire (*Œuvres*, t. IV, Louvain, 1891, p. 268). Les vers des ff. 42v et 43 constituent la 1ère strophe d'un rondeau publié par Bancel, avec des variantes, dans les 145 *Rondeaux d'amours*.

Le ms. 228, plus que les autres, est rempli de poèmes qui expriment des sentiments de tristesse et de regret. C'est ce caractère des chansons et la musique mélancolique de Josquin Després, qui donnent une impression d'unité.

La *Complainte de Marguerite d'Autriche*, que Gachet publie à la fin de son recueil, provient apparemment du ms. II, 119, ff. 132 à 133, de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. Quelques leçons ne semblent pas être très heureuses. Cette complainte se trouve aussi, avec des variantes, dans la *Chronique* de Nicaise Ladan, dont il existe, à Bruxelles, un ms., N^o. 14864-65. Voici les vers qui diffèrent le plus dans les 2 ms. Nous lisons, dans le ms. II, 119, ff. 132 à 132v:

*"Les prins tous deux en la fleur de leur eage
Car a dix et noef ans le prince trespasa
Et la mort malheureuse son jeusne ceur persa
Au beau ducq de Sauoye bien luy fis des tours
Car a vingt et trois ans luy fiz finir ses jours
Et le troisieme mon seul frere estoit
Roy des Hispaingnes, et de Napels a bon droict
Las tu la mis en semblable erroy
Car tu nespargnes prince ne duc, ne Roy;"*

Et, dans le ms. 14864-65, f. 18v:

*"Les prins tous deux en fleur de leur eage
a dix noef ans le prinche trespasa
Et a malheur la mort son coeur percha
au beau duc de sauoie bien luy feis de tes tours
quand a vingt et deux ans luy feis finir ses jours
Et le troisieme aprez quy mon seul frere estoit
Roy du pays despangne et de naples a bon droict
Las tu la mis aussy en tel samblable arroy
Car tu nespargne duc prince conte ne roy."*

Presque tous les vers de cette complainte, dans ces 2 ms., ont 10 syll.; il y en a, pourtant, quelques-uns de 12 syll.; ceux-ci se trouvent, d'ailleurs dans les

³³ Dans le ms. 228, il y a une variante, qui ne semble pas très heureuse, on lit: "*Car mon malheur sy fortune tourmente*," tandis que dans le *Jardin*, la version est. . . *si tresfort me tourmente*.

³⁴ Une variante: *franc* dans notre ms., *haut* dans l'œuvre de Lemaire.

extraits ci-dessus, et ce sont ceux aussi qui diffèrent le plus dans les 2 ms.³⁵ Remarquons aussi la *césure épique* d'un certain nombre de vers, dans lesquels l'*e* muet non élidé, à la césure,—c'est-à-dire après la 4^e syll.,—n'est pas compté dans la mesure du vers.³⁶

Enfin, le ms. II, 119, et, d'ailleurs, le recueil de Gachet, indiquent que Philibert le Beau mourut à 23 ans, tandis que le ms. 14864 voudrait que ce fût à 22 ans que le duc de Savoie finit ses jours. Etrange différence, quand on se rappelle que Philibert le Beau mourut le 10 septembre, 1504, et qu'il avait à peu près le même âge que Marguerite d'Autriche, celle-ci étant née le 10 janvier, 1580, et Philibert le Beau, le 10 avril de la même année.³⁷

L'étude des ms qui ont été publiés par Gachet nous montre que ces *Albums* ne peuvent pas être attribués à un seul auteur et que Marguerite d'Autriche n'y eut qu'une part probablement assez petite.

Une des premières choses sur lesquelles il faut attirer l'attention, c'est que deux des ms. des *Albums*, et les plus importants, contiennent de la musique qui, d'ailleurs, y occupe presque toute la place. Il semble, donc, que la poésie des *Albums* soit reléguée au second plan, et que la musique ait un rôle prédominant.

Pendant tout le moyen âge et, d'ailleurs, jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle, la musique fut étroitement associée à la poésie qui n'avait pas toujours la prépondérance. Souvent les poètes étaient, en même temps, musiciens; quelquefois les musiciens empruntaient un texte qu'ils modifiaient pour qu'il pût s'adapter à leurs compositions. Il s'agissait moins de trouver un thème nouveau que d'en tirer parti; la recherche d'un air original était laissée aux "trouvères". Pour la composition des motets, on accolait différentes mélodies, souvent de caractères divers, quelques-unes profanes, d'autres religieuses; on tronquait certains passages pour qu'ils pussent cadrer avec les exigences du déchant. Ainsi, sur une mélodie-mère, qui, en général, était chantée par le ténor, on construisait tout un échafaudage musical. Cette adaptation de la poésie à la musique, à la technique du contrepoint, était loin d'être sans inconvénients pour rondeaux, ballades, chansons dont il fallait quelquefois modifier le rythme, transformer assez complètement le caractère, changer les phrases et les mots.

On retrouve dans les poésies des *Albums* les caractères généraux de la poésie du XV^e siècle. Les auteurs ne se montrent guère inventifs; les thèmes traités sont l'amour—conventionnel, formel,—la désespérance, la mort, le souci des biens matériels de la vie; on trouve aussi, à côté les uns des autres, des morceaux religieux, des prières à la vierge, et des pièces très libres où l'érotisme est traduit en termes très suggestifs. L'expression n'est pas très originale non plus. Ce sont des mots qui s'appellent l'un l'autre, des phrases toutes faites, des proverbes,

³⁵ Le ms. II, 119 est un recueil mêlé de vers et de prose, en français et en flamand. Ce ms. nous semble meilleur que celui des *Chroniques* de N. Ladan; et, pourtant, les *Chroniques* sont, peut-être, plus proches du texte original de notre *complainte*. Il serait curieux, d'ailleurs, de comparer les autres ms. de Nicaise Ladan, qui sont à Arras, à Valenciennes et à Paris.

³⁶ "Les quatre princes q'au monde jaymoye mieulx
Car tu n'espargues prince ne duc ne roy
Les infortunes ne firent tant de guerre
Ne me preserve la reste de ma vie
Ne soit esteincte ne riens anichillee."

³⁷ Cf. Max Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche*, p. 29, note 1.

des commencements de pièces qui reviennent plusieurs fois, dans le même ms. ou dans différents ms.

Nous avons aussi relevé dans les *Albums* un certain nombre de rondeaux et de ballades en réponse à d'autres poésies connues dont on imitait la composition, le ton, le rythme, dont on répétait les mots, les rimes. Tout cela donne l'impression d'un exercice littéraire, dénué souvent de tout sentiment personnel et sincère.

L'emploi immodéré de la mythologie est aussi caractéristique des compositions du XVe siècle; et c'est ainsi que dans les *Albums*, on parle des *Pentasilé*, *Atalanta*, *Atropos*, *Phébus*, *Mars*, *Vénus*, . . . , qu'on s'adresse à la *Mort* et à des personnages allégoriques.

Il s'ensuit, donc, qu'il faut s'attendre à trouver, dans d'autres ms. que ceux que nous étudions, les pièces qu'on pouvait, d'abord, être tenté d'attribuer à Marguerite d'Autriche. Nous avons vu que c'est le cas pour un certain nombre de rondeaux. Le ton de tristesse et de mélancolie pouvait, au premier abord, tromper; on était en droit de s'imaginer que les plaintes contre la fortune devaient avoir été exprimées par la malheureuse princesse que le sort avait tant tourmentée; mais on s'aperçoit bien vite qu'il n'y a pas grand-chose de personnel, d'intime, d'individuel, dans tout cet *Album*. Il faut, évidemment, excepter un certain nombre de rondeaux ou de chansons qui semblent avoir été composés spécialement pour Marguerite d'Autriche; mais l'impression qui domine, c'est que les poésies de nos ms. ont été faites à l'aide de modèles très connus, dont on a changé quelques mots ou quelques vers pour pouvoir les appliquer aux circonstances particulières dont on voulait parler.

Il faut remarquer, aussi, que Marguerite d'Autriche possédait, dans sa bibliothèque,³⁸ le *Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique*, œuvre d'un compilateur qui se nomme l'*Infortuné*. Qu'on rencontre, dans les ms. des *Albums*, des poésies, qui se trouvent déjà dans cette anthologie de poèmes et dans ce traité de versification qu'est le *Jardin*, n'est pas pour nous surprendre.

L'examen que nous allons faire de la technique poétique va nous montrer aussi des ressemblances très nettes avec les compositions de la fin du XVe siècle. Aucun des rondeaux de nos ms. n'a de refrain complet; c'est au XVe siècle qu'apparaît le *rentrement*, qui n'est que le 1er mot ou les 1ers mots du 1er vers du refrain. Le *rentrement* deviendra la règle au XVIe siècle, et c'est toujours le *rentrement* que nous trouvons dans les rondeaux des *Albums*.

Le livre de H. Chatelain³⁹ nous permet de dire que les formes de rondeau des ms. 10572, 11239, 228, ont été employées par des auteurs célèbres du XVe siècle. Le rondeau a b b a, a b r, a b b a r, de vers de 10 syll., avec r = 4 syll., a été employé par Blosseville, et par G. Alexis, en particulier; le rondeau a b b a, a b r, a b b a r, de vers 8 syll., avec r = 4, a été employé par A. Chartier, Vaillant; le rondeau, a a b b a, a a b r, a a b b a r, de vers de 8 syll., a été employé, avec r = 4 syll., par Blosseville; le rondeau, a a b b a, a a b r, a a b b a r, de 10 syll., avec r = 4 syll., se retrouve dans les poésies de Blosseville, G. Chastelain. A côté de ces rondeaux, on en trouve d'autres, bien moins

³⁸ Cf. "Inventaire Michelant," *Bulletin de la Commission d'Histoire de Belgique*, 3 série, t. 12, 1871, pp. 26-27.

³⁹ H. Chatelain, *Recherches sur le Vers français au XVe Siècle*, Paris, 1908, pp. 171, 184, 207, 210.

fréquents il est vrai, tels que ceux qui riment a a b b a, a a b r, a a b b a r, de 8 syll., avec r = 1, pour lequel, Chatelain ne donne pas d'exemple; avec r = 3 qu'on retrouve chez Alain Chartier; avec r = 6, sans exemple dans Chatelain; pour les rondeaux du même type, mais de 10 syll., avec r = 2, et avec r = 5, point d'exemple chez Chatelain; pour les rondeaux, a b b a, a b r, a b b a r, de 8 syll., avec r = 2, il y a des exemples chez Vaillant et Anthoine de Guise; avec r = 3, il y a des exemples chez Villon et Cretin; avec r = 5, pas d'exemple. La ballade, a b a b b c b c, de vers de 10 syll., avec envoi, b c b c, est parmi celles qu'ont composées Christine de Pisan, le bâtard de Coucy, A. Chartier, Charles d'Orléans, Blosseville, Villon, G. Alexis.—La même ballade, mais de 8 syll., se retrouve chez C. Pisan, Ch. d'Orléans, Vaillant, Blosseville, Villon, Cretin. Les huitains du *dictier* ont un arrangement de rimes souvent employé par G. Chastellain et par Jean Lemaire.

Il faut ici signaler l'emploi d'acrostiches, de rimes batelées, équivoquées et de quelques-uns des nombreux artifices des rhétoriciens. H. Chatelain avait laissé de côté les auteurs "qui sont comme 'à cheval' sur la fin du XVe et le commencement du XVIe"; aussi est-il difficile de retrouver, grâce à la technique des vers, des renseignements sur les auteurs probables des *Albums*.

Quant à la complainte de Marguerite, publiée à la fin du volume de Gacher, la versification n'en est pas très différente de celle des autres pièces. Les poètes du XVe siècle, et du commencement du XVIe, semblaient considérer le décasyllabe comme le seul vers convenable pour les complaintes. Ici, c'est aussi le décasyllabe qui est employé.

Tout indique que les 3 ms. 10572, 11239, 228, se relient étroitement les uns aux autres. La technique est, dans l'ensemble, uniforme, avec, de temps en temps, pourtant, quelques éléments de variété. Ces poèmes monocordes se rattachent, en général, à la même période de la fin du moyen âge. Il est possible, aussi, de dire que le ms. 228 a été écrit dans les dix dernières années de la vie de Marguerite; car, comme le fait remarquer Tilmant, on trouve dans ce ms., une pièce latine, ff. 33v à 35, qui exprime les sentiments de tristesse, de deuil, et de chagrin, éprouvés à la mort de Maximilien, le 12 janvier, 1519.⁴⁰

Nous espérons avoir recueilli, dans ce travail, quelques renseignements qui permettent d'apporter des précisions sur la paternité littéraire des *Albums* de Marguerite et sur la valeur de ces poèmes dont l'originalité nous paraît moins grande que nous ne l'avions d'abord cru.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Il faut noter aussi que Josquin Després mourut le 27 août, 1521.

⁴¹ Le rondeau, *Tous les regretz qui les cueurs tourmentez* du ms. 228, ff. 3v et 4 et du ms. 11239 f. 9v se retrouve aussi dans les mss. suivants: n. a. f. 1158, f. 37 (B. N.) et n. a. f. 7559, f. 21 (B. N.).

Le rondeau, *Tous les regretz qui sur la terre sont* du ms. 228 ff. 42v et 43 se retrouve dans le ms. n. a. f. 7559, f. 42 (B. N.).

Le rondeau, *Tous nobles cueurs qui mes regretz voyes* du ms. 228, f. 51v se retrouve dans le ms. n. a. f. 1158, ff. 36 et 145vo, (B. N.).

Le premier vers du rondeau, *Incessamment mon pouvre cuer lamente* du ms. 10572, f. 19 se retrouve dans un rondeau du ms. f. 1667, f. 82 vo. (B. N.).

Le rondeau, *Deuil et ennuy tousciz regret et paine* du ms. 228, ff. 22v et 23 se retrouve dans le ms. n. a. f. 7559, f. 68 vo. (B. N.).

Peut-être aussi cette étude fera-t-elle mieux connaître la poésie du XVe siècle, dont, en général, on néglige un peu trop les auteurs secondaires qui ont, pourtant, contribué à préparer la voie aux poètes de la Renaissance?

MARCEL FRANÇON ET
GH. DE BOOM

HARVARD UNIVERSITY ET
BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE

DISSIMILATION OF VOWELS IN SPANISH

MENÉNDEZ Pidal says¹ that dissimilation "se produce para suprimir la incómoda semejanza entre dos sonidos de una palabra." There is no doubt of the truth of this statement, particularly as regards consonants (*propio* for *proprio*; cf. the English pronunciation *Febuary* for *February*). But concerning dissimilation of vowels, it seems in some cases rather the result of a desire to make one sound stand out from another. Whereas cases such as the omission of *u* in *auguriu* (*aguriu* > *agüero*) are surely to be explained according to Menéndez Pidal's statement, some of the other examples incline one to the belief that there was an unconscious effort to contrast the two sounds. Thus, in **viinte* < *vīginti*, had it not been for the tendency to distinguish the two vowels from each other, the first *i* would probably have coalesced with the second, and *vinte*, instead of *veinte*, would have resulted; the Latin feminine *mea*, because of its development in the Romance languages, requires us to suppose a close *e* in Vulgar Latin,¹ as distinguished from the short *e* in the Classic Latin word and in the masculine *meu* — the very open *e* being much more similar to *a* (in *mea*) than to *u* or *o* (in *meu*, *meo*), one felt the desire to distinguish it further from this vowel, and the natural tendency was to make it closer, since *a* is a very open vowel, whereas open *e* was sufficiently different from the back, rounded *u* or *o* to require no further differentiation, and it underwent the usual diphthongization. A similar case is that of the development of the verbal termination *-des* into the modern *-is* (*amatis* > *amades* > *amaes* > *amáis*; *venditis* > *vendedes* > *vendéis*; and similarly in the other forms: *amabais*, *amarais*, *amaseis*, *amareis*). The subconscious desire to emphasize the difference between *a* and *e* caused the second vowel to become closer, since *a* is the most open vowel. Possibly the first conjugation influenced the others in this person, otherwise *vendedes* might easily have become *vendés*, as *decís* developed through the coalescence of *i* + *i*, the dissimilation of the second *i* being prevented through the influence of the first and second conjugations, in which the termination ended in *-is*.²

Another interesting case of dissimilation is found in the change of final *e* to *i* (*y*) in the stressed syllable when this vowel is in hiatus with another, even though final *i* normally becomes *e*: *re(g)e* > *rey*; *gre(g)e* > *grey*; *le(g)e* >

¹ *Manual de gramática histórica española*, 5th ed., Madrid, 1929, § 66.

² Another possible influence working against the development of the form **decies* may have been the old form of the second person singular of the imperfect indicative (*decies*, later *decíes*), though presumably that mentioned above was the determining factor, as analogy plays such an important part in the development of verbal terminations.

ley; *bo(v)e* > *buey*; *bo(dj)e* > *boy*³; and the primitive Castilian forms *dai* < imper. *date* and *facei* < imper. *facete*. Here is evident the tendency to make a vowel closer in order to distinguish it more clearly from another. This change occurs less often than the contrary — that of the opening of one vowel sound when both are close. The change of the conjunction *o* to *u* before a word beginning with *o* or *bo* (*uno u otro*) is another important exception to the general tendency in dissimilation of vowels to make the one more open, for a more open vowel (*a* or *e*) is obviously precluded from developing in this case because of the preposition *a* and the conjunction *e* (*y*). Similarly, through the same desire to differentiate sounds, the *e* of *et* is preserved when this conjunction precedes a word beginning with *i* or *bi* (*madre e hijo*), but not when it begins with *bie*, for here the sound is different, as is also the case when it begins with *y* (*madera y hierro*; *ella y yo*).

Menéndez Pidal does not explain the reason for the presence of *a* in the initial syllable of *zabullir* < **sub-bullire*,⁴ *sabumar*⁵ < **sub-fumare*, and *zabondar* < **sub-fundare*.⁶ It appears that the change of vowel is due to dissimilation. After the meaning of the prefix *so-* was no longer felt, there is no reason why this tendency to differentiate sounds should not have affected the *o* which is so similar to *u*, particularly in the last two examples in which they are not separated by any consonant sound. It seems likely, however, that people realized that the syllable *so-* of these two words was a prefix, even though its force was lost. This realization would be due to the influence of the persons of the present tenses in which the stress is on the stem of the verb; otherwise there might easily have been assimilation and coalescence into one word.

The vowel *a* does not seem to be subject to dissimilation, probably because the alteration in sound would be realized, as this is the most open sound and therefore the one of greatest perceptibility. It seems rather improbable that *farrāgine* (> *ferrāgine* > *herrén*) is such a case although Menéndez Pidal so classifies it.⁷ There is no other word in Vulgar Latin beginning with *farra-* which survived, and the influence of *ferru* and its derivatives (*fērramenta* > *herramienta*, *fērrariu* > *herrero*) must have been strong.

When dissimilation occurs between vowels, it is nearly always the unstressed vowel that is affected, except when there are two contiguous vowels, as in *mea*, *tua*, *sua*. This is quite natural because the change is made without the speaker's consciousness of the fact that he is altering the sound, and the change is least noticeable when the vowel that is altered is in unstressed position.

When in Spanish both vowels are close, the unstressed one becomes more open when dissimilation occurs, as has been mentioned; thus: *formosū* > *ber-*

³ If we accept the theory that *-ge* and *-dje* gave *-ye* > *-y* through the loss of final *e*, these cases can not be viewed as examples of dissimilation. Cf. F. Hansen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*, Halle, 1913, § 67.

⁴ Meyer-Lübke (*Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*) derives this from *sēpīlire* (*sebellir*, *sobollir*).

⁵ Hansen, *ib.*, § 431, says that this may be due to the influence of *abumar* (Gröber, *Arch.*, V, 484).

⁶ Menéndez, § 20 (3). These words are given in the list of examples of the change of *o* in the initial syllable to *a*, as is also *Pamplona* < *Pomplona*.

⁷ *ib.*, § 17 (4).

moso; **postauriculu* > *pestorejo*;⁸ *horologiu* > *reloj*; *rotundu* > V. L. **retundu* > *redondo*;⁹ and it seems that we may consider also the following as examples of this phenomenon: *Pompelona* > *Pomplona* > *Pamplona*; *colostru* > *calostro*.

uo > ue

What may be one of the most interesting cases of dissimilation is to be found in the development of the diphthong *uo* (< *ō*) into *ue* in Spanish.¹⁰ It

⁸ Menéndez Pidal [*ib.*, §§ 13 (2) and 20 (4)] gives this word in two different places, with a different explanation for the *e* in each. In the one it is supposed to be a reduction of *ue*, and in the other, "por disimilación de otra *o* acentuada" (*sic*)!

⁹ It seems possible that there was also influence of the prefix *re-* in this and in the preceding case, though the change might easily have taken place without such influence.

¹⁰ In his *Orígenes del español*, Madrid, 1929, §§ 22-24, Menéndez Pidal has treated the development of short *o* in Spanish in his usual scholarly fashion. His refutation of the theory that the accent was thrown on the first vowel of the diphthong and later on the second seems thoroughly convincing, as well as his refutation of the theory of the palatalization of the *o* of the diphthong *uo* as an explanation of the development into *ue*. One may, however, be permitted to question his explanation of the reason for the development of *uo* from Latin *ō*. He says (p. 139): "El diptongo es una bimatación del sonido vocálico, producida por una exageración de la vocal que lleva el acento de la palabra o de la frase; esa bimatación consiste fundamentalmente en cerrar una de las partes de la vocal . . . Al exagerar el punto de articulación de la *o* abierta, ésta se cierra, produciéndose un elemento más enérgicamente definido, *o* cerrada; pero luego sobreviene una rectificación, y los músculos se relajan buscando la abertura originaria: *o* cerrada + *o* abierta". From close *o*, [w] would naturally develop.

May it not be rather that both here and in the case of the stressed *e*, we have not what is apparently a diphthongization but the development of an on-glide between the close position of the vocal organs to the very open position? It seems that *ē* and short *o* were very open, *ē* often being confused with *ae* (Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 8). Normally a consonant precedes these vowels, which means that either the tongue is raised (as for *d*, *t*, *c*, ([k]), *n*), or that the lips are closed or nearly so (as for *p*, *b*, *m*, *f*). In all such cases, the buccal cavity is made small, and must become very much more open for the very open sounds *ē* and short *o*; this would tend to induce the on-glide, which, in the case of *ē*, could be only [j], (the closer sound which would creep in during the opening of the cavity), and, in the case of short *o*, would be close *o* or *u*, because of the rounding of the lips in anticipation of short *o*, and this sound would soon become [w]. Compare the development of [j] in French after *c* (beginning a word or after a consonant) followed by *a* (*caru* > *kyar* > *cher*), and a somewhat similar one in the New England rustic pronunciation of certain words (*cow* [kəu]).

It is true that the consonants *b*, *f*, *m*, *p*, *v*, and *z* would not cause the tongue to rise as it does to pronounce [j]; the sound resulting from the mere separation of the organs used to pronounce these consonants would be similar to the vowel sound of the English definite article *the* pronounced unemphatically before a word beginning with a consonant, but dissimilation and the influence of the [j] developing before *ē* after the other consonants which are either dental, alveolar, palatal or velar — that is, pronounced with some part of the tongue raised, and in most cases the front part of the tongue — would cause this sound [ə], which is foreign to Spanish, to become [j].

This would be the contrary development to that which may account for the French *e* < *a* stressed in free syllable (*aine* < *amo*) — that is, in raising the tongue to pronounce an alveolar consonant, or in closing the lips to pronounce a labial consonant (which causes the jaw to rise and the tongue with it), an off-glide sound may have crept in — the semi-vowel *i*. The closing influence of this sound on the *a* and the opening influence of the *a* on the *i* would easily result in a very open *e* sound. We know that the *e* < *a* did not rhyme with *e* < *ē* in Old French, and was probably more open. (Kr. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, Copenhagen, 1904, vol. I, § 171). (When preceded by a palatal, there developed the semi-consonant *i* [j] after *a* (*caru* > *chier*), whose closing influence changed the *a* to *e*). It is noteworthy that when no consonant followed, *a* tonic, free > *a* (*chantu*, *jā*, etc., in which the final consonant disappeared early).

The theory presented by A. Juret (*Essai d'explication de la transformation des voyelles latines accentuées, e, o, a, en roman ie, uo, e*, in *Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 1922, vol.

would be difficult to find a case in which the circumstances were more ripe for dissimilation than in this diphthong, both vowels being so similar to each other — both back and labial vowels, for we may presume that the close [w] caused the following *o* to become less open. The natural tendency would be for the stressed part of the diphthong to differentiate itself from the semiconsonant [w] (cf. *mēa* > **mēa*), which is done by causing the passage between the tongue and the uvula and pharynx to become larger, and the lips to lose their rounded quality. The resultant vowel sound depends on the position the tongue and the lips then assume. If the dorsum rises somewhat toward the junction of the velum and the hard palate, *e* is produced. If not, *a* results, the lips and the jaws becoming slightly more separated. The only other possibility within the range of normal Castilian vowels would be *i*, which is a still more radical change in the position of the organs of speech — the dorsum must rise toward the hard palate (medio-palatal position), the lips must be brought closer together, and the sides of the mouth pulled slightly back. Furthermore, the sound of *i* is so different from that of *o* that the ear would detect the error. Apparently such a violent change was not a natural tendency here any more than in the other cases of dissimilation of vowels.

If dissimilation were to occur, then, we should expect *ue* or *ua* to be the result, and, interestingly enough, Menéndez Pidal¹¹ shows that there was considerable vacillation between these two forms in the 10th and 11th centuries, and that *ua* still exists, alongside of *ue*, in certain "dialectal corners". Even *uō* developed, which, as in French, shows the rounding influence of [w], and has not entirely disappeared from Leonese.

One may wonder why the diphthong *ie* was not also subject to dissimilation. As a matter of fact, such a tendency did apparently exist, as shown by the form *ia*,¹² which existed alongside of *ie*. It seems, however, that there is a greater phonetic distinction between the [j] and the *ɛ* than between the [w] and *o* of the diphthong, which apparently was sufficient reason for the pre-

XXIII), that the diphthongization is due to anticipation of the closing of the buccal cavity in the pronunciation of the final vowel, is difficult to accept. To mention only two objections, the closing influence of the final *a* (*porta* > *puorta* > *puerta*), which, he believes, caused people, through anticipation, to pronounce *u* before *o*, and *ɪ* before *e*, is not very evident; and, secondly, assimilation normally caused the alteration of a vowel and not a diphthongization.

Another point remains to be explained — the reason for the fact that *ie* and *ue* developed only when *ē* and short *o* were stressed. Unstressed vowels, being pronounced less emphatically, and, consequently, with less tension, are, in general, pronounced less clearly than stressed vowels; *a* — the most open vowel, and, therefore, the one of greatest perceptibility — least often undergoes change when unstressed. It follows, then, that the unstressed vowels are, in general, most likely to undergo alteration, and the history of the language shows this to be the case. Dissimilation usually affects only unstressed vowels, and the same is true of assimilation, when the vowels are not, or do not become, contiguous, notwithstanding a few exceptions (*fīci* > *bice*). Initial unstressed vowels are frequently altered, often in unexplained fashion (*aerigine* > **aerigine* > *orin*; *ēpiscopu* > *obispo* (through the rounding influence of the following bilabial consonant?); *lūmbricus* > **lūmbricula* > *lambrija*). Pretonic interior vowels other than the most open (*a*) disappeared, and the post-tonic interior vowels also were generally lost. In view of these facts, it would be natural for the tongue and the jaws to assume a less extreme position in pronouncing the very open *ē* and short *o* in unstressed position, resulting in a somewhat closer sound; the on-glide would then scarcely be expected to develop.

¹¹ *Ib.*

¹² *Ib.*, § 26.

valence of the form *ie*. For both the [w] and the *o*, the tongue rises toward the back of the mouth — the difference is one of degree; for both there is a rounding of the lips — the difference again being one of degree. For [j], the sides of the mouth are pulled slightly back, but not for the *e*; for [j], there is only a very narrow medio-palatal passage, with even a very slight degree of friction, for it is a very close sound; for *e*, the passage, considerably more open, is post-palatal or at the junction of the hard and the soft palates. As we know, too, that Vulgar Latin *ē* was extremely open, it seems evident that there was sufficient phonetic difference between the two vowels of *ie* to cause the *e* to remain and thus prevent the generalization of *ia*, but not sufficient to prevent the development of this form.

WILLIAM E. KNICKERBOCKER

CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK

AMOUNT OF KNOWLEDGE ATTRIBUTED TO THE SPIRITS IN DANTE'S *INFERNO*

WHILE Dante is conversing with Farinata, the broken spirit of the father of Guido Cavalcante rises up in the same tomb, and, being unaware of the present condition of his son, says: "Mio figlio ov'è? E perchè non è teco?"¹ Having noticed that Ciaccio² and Farinata³ were able to predict future events, while Cavalcante was ignorant that his son Guido was still alive, our poet was puzzled and asked Farinata the reason:

"Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza,"
Prega' io lui, — 'solvete mi quel nodo,
Che qui ha involupata mia sentenza.
E' par che voi veggiate, se ben odo,
Dinanzi quel che il tempo seco adduce,
E nel presente tenete altro modo'" (*Inferno*, X, 94-99).

In reply Farinata says:

"Noi veggiam, come quei ch'ha mala luce,
Le cose', disse, 'che ne son lontano;
Cotanto ancor ne splende il sommo Duce.
Quando s'appressano, o son, tutto è vano
Nostro intelletto; e s'altri non ci apporta,
Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano'" (*Inferno*, X, 100-108).

With reference to this passage Grandgent says:⁴ "We now learn that the damned, while aware of the past and indistinctly cognizant of the future, have no knowledge of present events on earth. Just how much time the 'present' embraces we are not told. This idea, which seems to be original with our poet, opens the way to an intensely pathetic situation in this canto; and throughout the *Inferno* it provides opportunity for varied narrative, the things of 1300 being told by Dante to the shades, while later events are prophesied by them to him."

¹ *Inferno*, X, 60.

² *Inferno*, VI, 64-75.

³ *Inferno*, X, 79-81.

⁴ Compare his edition of the *Divina Comedia* (D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1909, p. 82).

The purpose of this note is to call attention to a similar statement in the *Elucidarium* of Honorius of Autun,⁵ who lived in the first half of the 12th century:⁶ "Sciunt animae quae hic geruntur? Animae justorum sciunt omnia quae hic aguntur; quae autem in poenis sunt, nesciunt nisi quae eis angeli vel sancti referunt. Quae vero in inferno sunt, non plus norunt qui hic agatur, quam vivi sciunt quid ibi geratur". The quotation just given shows that the idea that the damned have no knowledge of present events on earth was known long before the time of Dante. It will be observed also that both Honorius and Farinata state that these spirits are unaware of present conditions unless someone brings the news to them.⁷

With reference to the answer that Farinata⁸ makes to Dante, William Warren Vernon says:⁹ "It is generally considered to imply that the first words of it (*Noi veggiam*) apply to all the lost spirits in Hell, but several passages may be noted that seem inconsistent with this view. In *Inf.* VI, Ciacco not only predicts the future in 11, 64-72, but in 11, 73-75, he adds: *Giusti son due, ma non vi sono intesi: superbia, invidia ed avarizia sono*, etc., which is a direct allusion to the present as well as to the future. Again in this canto, the question that Farinata has put to Dante about the persecution of his kindred, *dimmi perchè quel popolo è sì empio incontro a' miei* in 11, 82-84 would almost seem to show some knowledge of what was passing at Florence, though possibly this might be explained by his inferring the present hostility of the Florentines from Dante having thrown in his teeth that his kindred had never been able to return from exile. Poletto (*Dizionario Dantesco*, s. v. *Cavalcante Cavalcanti*) expresses his conviction that by *noi* is not to be understood all the lost in Hell, but only the Epicureans in this circle, *che l'anima col corpo morta fanno* (1, 15), and he thinks that for the sin of denying the immortality of the soul, they have to undergo this special penalty." That Poletto's explanation is incorrect is shown by the fact that ignorance of present events on earth is not limited to the Epicureans. Nicholas III has no knowledge of the present. He mistakes Dante for Boniface VIII:

"Ed ei gridò: 'Sei tu già costì ritto
Sei tu già costì ritto, Bonifazio?
Di parecchi anni mi menti lo scritto.'"¹⁰

As Boniface died in 1303, he was still alive in 1300, the supposed date of Dante's Vision.

Commenting on Ciacco's use of *sono*, Vernon says:¹¹ "The fact of this

⁵ *Honorii Augustodunensis Opera Omnia*, published by Garnier (Paris, 1895, tomus unicus, p. 1162). Compare *Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri* (Pisa, 1858, p. 291).

⁶ See *op. cit.*, "Prolegomena", p. 1. The author of the article on Honorius in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* says: "He flourished between the years 1106 and 1135".

⁷ Compare "quae autem in poenis sunt, nesciunt quae eis angeli vel sancti referunt" with "e' altri non ci apporta Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano".

⁸ *Inferno*, X, 100-108.

⁹ *Readings on the Inferno of Dante* (Methuen & Co., London, 1906, p. 362). Compare also *Exiles of Eternity, an Exposition of Dante's Inferno*, by the Rev. John S. Carroll, 3rd ed., pp. 167-8.

¹⁰ *Inferno*, XIX, 52-54.

¹¹ *Inferno*, VI, 74.

being in the present tense seems to be inconsistent with the principle which we shall see laid down (Canto X) by Farinata degli Uberti as to the amount of knowledge that is vouchsafed to spirits in Hell respecting things passing on earth." Francesca da Rimini also has knowledge of the present. She knows that Gianciotto Malatesta is still alive:

"Caino attende chi vita ci spense."¹²

Gianciotto died in 1304. Farinata's statement that the lost spirits are ignorant of the present evidently refers only to those included in Dis, the lower *Inferno*, where sins of malice and bestiality are punished, and does not apply in the case of the incontinent. The reason for this distinction is doubtless contained in the following statement:

"Non ti rimembra di quelle parole,
Colle quai la tua Etica pertratta
Le tre disposizion che il ciel non vuole:
Incontinenza, malizia e la matta
Bestialitate? e come incontinenza
Men Dio offende e men biasimo accatta?"¹³

Honorius' statement that the *animae iustorum sciunt omnia quae hic aguntur* applies also in the case of the spirits in Dante's *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. Oderisi¹⁴ knows that the illuminator Franco Bolognese, who was still living, is a better artist than he was and Cacciaguida¹⁵ knows the difference between the Florence of his time and that of Dante.

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

THE NOSE OF CYRANO DE BERGERAC

"Ô bien heureux sont donc ceux qui ont demy pied de nez".

(Bruscambille).

THE historical Cyrano de Bergerac has been forced to yield place to a legendary figure whose hold on the popular imagination will not soon be relinquished. Critics have protested against the gradual and inevitable obscuration of the 17th-century original, and among these upholders of fact against fiction, M. Pierre Brun has declared himself "animé du seul désir de remplacer par un Cyrano authentique la figure conventionnelle du bohème bravache et spadassin, ridicule dans sa vie et extravagant dans ses œuvres."¹ Most of the efforts to supplant the Cyrano myth by documentary evidence are admirable in their emphasis on truth, but they are signally lacking in any appreciation of folklore tendencies. The real Cyrano would have been dead to fame had not tradition allowed its rich stores to accumulate around his person.

¹² *Inferno*, V, 107.

¹³ *Inferno*, XI, 79-84.

¹⁴ *Purg.*, XI, 79-84. Compare also *Purgatorio*, VIII, 67-75.

¹⁵ *Par.*, XVI, 46-51.

¹ Brun, *Savinien de Cyrano Bergerac Gentilhomme parisien, l'Histoire et la Légende de Lebrét à M. Rostand*, Paris, 1909, p. 280; see also Brun's earlier work, *Savinien de Cyrano Bergerac*, Paris, 1893; Emile Magne, "La Documentation erronée de 'Cyrano de Bergerac,'" *Revue de France*, III, 1898, pp. 1403-23, 1506-20, 1575-98; and Hans Platow, *Die Personen von Rostands Cyrano de Bergerac in der Geschichte und in der Dichtung*, 1902.

Legends have an imaginative truth of their own, increasing in strength and validity as they collect materials from folk and literary sources, and thereby displaying the composite genius of the many who have contributed to their growth. Within the realm of Cyrano legend, which has thus attained a superior vitality over life, I propose to study the accretions by which that worthy's nose has grown to the proportions and the celebrity conferred on it by Edmond Rostand.

From the earliest times, a large nose has commanded respect, while a small nose has aroused distrust. By Hebrew law and ordinance, these men among others must not "approach to offer the bread of his God"; "a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose" (*Leviticus*, 21:18). In Latin the word *nasutus* has a literal and a figurative meaning: possessed of a large nose, or of sagacity, wit, satire.² *Nasus* appears in several phrases as the seat of raillery, disdain, anger, scorn: *tacito ridere naso*, *nasus Atticus*, *nasus stili*, *naso adunco alique[m] suspendere*.

The mediaeval interest in physiognomy developed a fairly consistent system of nose-interpretation, which had its roots in Greek and Roman theory. The science may be illustrated by the following passages:

"*Nasus curvus multam cogitationem notat*".³

"*cuius nasus convexus simulque valde laxus [inflatus?] est, iracundus est . . . cuius nasus frontem versus arcuari incipit, insolens est. cuius nasus arcuatur, eius animus nobilis est, ut aquila*".⁴

"*cuius nasus longus est ad os fere protensus, animosus est [another version has: est probus et audax] . . . et cuius nasus foramina habet spiritum gravem trahentia, iracundus est. et si nasus latus est, in medio ad similitudinem inclinans, gloriosus et mendax est*".⁵

Nor was a rational explanation lacking for such statements as Raynaud's "*Quo ergo nasus erit prolixior, eo erit vberioris iudicii ac sapientiae nota*";⁶ "Itaque quo *Nasus* erit prolixior & capacior, eo melius & abundantius effluet mucus; sicque negotiatio phantasiae erit expeditior & melior, atque adeo etiam concomitanter & indirecte, ratione connexionis cum phantasia, iudicium existet limatius, & purius atque omni ex parte perfectius. Notus longus Cyri nasus, index perspicacitatis eius & intelligentiae".⁷ In short, "*nasus prolixus, est vtilior ad finem expurgandi cerebri*".⁸

² "*Nasutus nimium cupis videri. nasutum volo, nolo polyposum*."

(Martial, *Epigrams*, XII, 37; cf. XIII, 2).

³ "Polemonis de physiognomonia liber," *Scriptores Physiognomonici Graeci et Latini*, ed. Richard Foerster, Lipsiz, 1893, I, 228.

⁴ "Pseudopolemonis Codicis Gothani Arabici Versio Latina," *ibid.*, II, 152-53.

⁵ "Physiognomoniae Secreti Secretorum Pseudaristotelici Versiones Latinae," *ibid.*, II, 203-4, col. 3; see also *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser., LXXIV, 1898, p. 228, and Lydgate and Burgh's *Secretes of old Philisoffres*, ed. Steele, E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser., LXVI, 1894, p. 83. Cf. Henricus Kornmann (fl. 1607), *Enucleatae Quaestiones Complectentes perijucundum Tractatum de Virginum Statu ac Jure*, Norimbergae, 1679, pp. 174-76.

⁶ "Laus Brevitatis," *Theophili Raynaldi Societatis Iesv Theologi, Opera Omnia*, Lygdvni, 1665, XIII, 492, col. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII, 493, col. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII, 493, col. 2. "Mais dites-moy, ie vous prie, *Nonne experientia patet? Que ses petits aurtôs de nez ne sont que des sentines & cloaques d'ordure, puant & infets en tout*

Thus, by a rather natural association, backed by scientific reasoning, a large nose was considered the property of great, intelligent, and aggressive men. It will be remembered in this connection that "the Shandy family ranked very high in King Harry the Eighth's time" because of its "long and jolly noses" and that Tristram's father "did not conceive how the greatest family in England could stand it out against an uninterrupted succession of six or seven short noses." Alexander the Great, Hercules, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa Pompilius, the Emperors Titus and Trajan, Scipio Nascia, Publius Ovidius Naso, Christ and the Virgin Mary, Mohammed, Ben Jonson, Cromwell, the Duke of Wellington, affectionately called "Nosey" by his soldiers, Rudolph of Hapsburg, Frederick the Great, Napoleon III — all had large or long noses. Among these personages may also be enshrined Giovanfrancesco Leoni, for whose princely nose Annibale Caro obtained an historic "Guarda-Naso."

"In somma un Naso straordinario porta sempre seco straordinaria maggioranza; e non senza ragione. Imperciocchè io ho trovato, che il Naso è la sede della Maestà, e dell'Onore dell'Uomo: e per conseguenza chi maggior l'ha, più onorato debb'essere".⁹

It is not a far cry from the mock heroic to the burlesque or the satirical; and it is in the latter vein that Erasmus makes Pamphagus' nose the butt of ridicule in his dialogue, "De Captandis Sacerdotiis." Cocles catalogues the possible uses to which his friend's proboscis might be put:

"Primum ad extinguendas lucernas erit cornu vice . . . Deinde si quid hauriendum erit e cavo profundiore, fuerit loco promuscidis . . . Si manus erunt occupatae, licebit uti vice paxilli . . . Conducet excitando foculo, si defuerit follis . . . Si lumen officiat scribenti, praebebit umbraculum . . . In bello navali praebebit usum harpagonis . . . Erit loco clypei [in bello terrestri] . . . Findendis lignis erit cuneus . . . Si praeconem agas, erit tuba: si classicum canas, cornu: si fodias, ligo: si metas, falx: si naviges, ancora: in popina fuerit fuscina: in piscando hamus".¹⁰

Through concentrating on utility, Erasmus has overlooked the more colorful and convivial aspect of the nose. Other men, however, have sung its praises as wine's beacon, an excellent example of this practice being the poem, "A Son Nez," of Olivier Basselin (15th century):

"Beau nez, dont les rubis ont cousté mainte pipe

De vin blanc et clairet,

Et duquel la couleur richement participe

Du rouge et violet;

"Gros nez! Qui te regarde à travers un grand verre,

Te juge encor plus beau.

genre de putrefaction, où au côtraire les nez faits sur le modèle du mien, sont les alambics & tuyaux par où se vuide tout ce qui pourroit mentis animaeque functiones impedire" (*Les Œuvres de Bruscombille* [pseudonym of Des Lauriers, fl. 16th century], Roven, 1635, p. 439).

⁹ Annibale Caro (1507-66), "La Nasea ovvero Diceria de'Nasi," *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie inedite o rare dal Secolo XIII al XIX*, dispensa 7, Bologna, 1861, p. 175; we also learn from Caro that women love long-nosed men (pp. 177-78).

¹⁰ *Desiderii Erasmi Rotterdami Colloquia Familiaria*, editio nova, Norimbergae, 1784, p. 35. Cf. Cyrano's self-railery in Rostand's play (I, iv), and "Notes on the Nose," *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, New Series, I, 1844, 331: "Castor's nose was said to be in itself all the useful instruments of life — a spade, a trumpet, an anchor, a pot-hook, etc."

Tu ne ressembles point au nez de quelque here
 Qui ne boit que de l'eau . . .
 "Le verre est le pinceau, duquel on t'enlumine;
 Le vin est la couleur
 Dont on t'a peint ainsi plus rouge qu'une guisgne,
 En beuvant du meilleur . . ."¹¹

Although Rostand's Cyrano likewise flaunts a highly tinted nose, its rubies are not the mark of intemperance, for the French dramatist follows Henri Lebreton in portraying an abstemious hero. Cyrano belligerently addresses the bore, "Malsaine Vous semble sa couleur?" and instructs the Viscount in the witty remarks which might be passed on a large nose, "Tendre: 'Faites-lui faire un petit parasol De peur que sa couleur au soleil ne se fane!'" (Act I, iv).

The foregoing rapid sketch of analytical, mock heroic, burlesque, and humorous literary treatments of the nose must serve as an indication of the many lights in which that feature was viewed before the 17th century and also, as we shall discover later, in Cyrano's own day. I shall now turn to such statements in the works of Cyrano and his biographers as have made possible the concentration of nose lore about his person.

If one studies the engravings of Cyrano in the collection of the National Library at Paris¹² with a realistic, rather than a romantic, eye, one will be forced to admit that the nose is ample, — perhaps, even compendious, — but it is not immense or monstrous. Cyrano himself gave the first impulse to the exaggeration of its size by representing the dwellers in the moon as declaring: "Un grand nez est le signe d'un homme spirituel, courtois, affable, généreux,

¹¹ Basselin, *Vaux-de-vire*, ed. P. L. Jacob, Paris, 1858, pp. 33-4. In the translation of Francisco de Quevedo Villegas' *Historia de la Vida del Buscon* occurs an interesting description of Baldinus (Flechilla in the original), "qui avoit vne trongne toute pleine de bourgeons rouges, aussi gros que des petites meures, & crotté comme vn semonneur d'enterrement." Quévedo, *L'Aventurier Buscon, Histoire Facécieuse*, Roven, 1645, p. 128. J.-P.-N. Ducommun dit Véron (1688-1745) rhapsodises in this manner: "Venons à ces nez parsemez de rubis, ou que le jus de la treille a teints en écarlate. Ils ont été encensez par les bons biberons. Témoin cette chanson à boire:

"C'est par vous, ô Bacchus, que le teint s'enlumine,
 Et sans vôtre liqueur divine
 Les hommes n'auroient point de brillants sur le nez."

(Ducommun, *Le Nez, ouvrage curieux, galant et badin*, Amsterdam, 1717, p. 76).

Cf. the 11th-century Japanese tale from the *Uji Shui Monogatari*, in which a high priest, Zenchin Naiku, is represented as having a nose five or six inches long, "reddish purple, and . . . like the peel of a big orange" (Rokumu, "The Nose and Ethnic Traditions," *The Japan Magazine*, XI, 1920, p. 157).

¹² These are conveniently reproduced in Cyrano de Bergerac, *Satirical Characters and Handsome Descriptions in Letters*, Cambridge, 1914. Joseph Knight, in his article, "The Real Cyrano de Bergerac," *The Fortnightly Review* (LXX, 1898, pp. 206, 215), insists that Cyrano's nose, though large and beak-like, was "well-shaped." On the other hand, P. L. Jacob thinks that the proportions of that redoubtable nose "semblent avoir été atténuées dans ces portraits," (Cyrano de Bergerac, *Histoire Comique des États et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil*, ed. Jacob, Paris, 1858, p. xxvi). Many 17th-century portraits display rather generous noses; perhaps, in an age much given to physiognomic interpretation, artists thus passed compliments on their sitter's wisdom and leadership.

libéral; & . . . le petit, est un signe du contraire."¹³ Attention has not been called to the more obviously autobiographical passage in *Histoire Comique des États et Empire du Soleil*, in which the guide exclaims as he puts Cyrano back in prison after the latter's escape and capture: "Est-ce donc que pour votre beau nez . . . Hé allons, allons aux cachots noirs."¹⁴ Cyrano is likewise an authority for his own combativeness, blustering as he does in his letter, "Le Duelliste," about the dearth of combats: "Je vous proteste qu'il y a plus d'un mois que je suis le second de tout le monde."¹⁵ A careless reading of this sentence by Cyrano's friend and biographer, Henri Lebret, has probably given rise to the following whimsical overstatement: "Son courage et son adresse l'engagèrent plus de cent fois à être second (car il n'eut jamais une querelle de son chef)."¹⁶ (It may be remarked in passing that a man who played second in duels might well be assumed to have done so in love.) The connection between Cyrano's nose and his duels was pointed out by Gilles Ménage (1613-92): "Bergerac étoit un grand ferrailleur. Son nez qu'il avoit tout défiguré, lui a fait tuer plus de dix personnes. Il ne pouvoit souffrir qu'on le regardât, & il faisoit mettre aussi-tôt l'épée à la main."¹⁷ In the thirteenth of his *Lettres Amoureuses*, which is not autobiographical, but merely the conventional complaint of an irresolute lover cruelly treated by his mistress,¹⁸ Cyrano would seem, to an uncritical reader, to have thrown out a hint of his personal lack of amatory success, for he refers to himself as "une personne disgraciée de la Nature", and goes on to say: "Votre front me flatte, vos yeux me promettent, votre bouche me rit, mais il survient à la traverse ma mauvaise Fortune qui me défend d'espérer."¹⁹ The letter concludes with an allusion to "un autre."

The unknown author of the *Combat de Cyrano de Bergerac, avec le singe de Brioché au bout du Pont-neuf*, which M. Charles Magnin thinks "a dû être imprimé peu de temps après sa mort [C.'s], arrivée en 1655,"²⁰ engages in a

¹³ C. G. T. Garnier, *Voyages Imaginaires*, Amsterdam, 1787-89, XIII, 393 [misprint for 239]. Cf. Cyrano's boast in the play—

" un grand nez est proprement l'indice
D'un homme affable, bon, courtois, spirituel,
Libéral, courageux, tel que je suis " (I, iv)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 290.

¹⁵ *Œuvres comiques de Cyrano de Bergerac*, ed. P. L. Jacob, Paris, 1858, II, 67. Gabriel Guéret (1641-88) represents Cyrano as declaring to Balzac: "Je vous apprend que je suis fantasque, comme la Mule du Pape, & vaillant comme mon Espée" (Guéret, *La Guerre des Auteurs Anciens et Modernes*, Haye, 1671, p. 157).

¹⁶ Lebret's Preface in *Les Œuvres de Monsieur de Cyrano Bergerac*, Amsterdam, 1709; also reprinted by P. L. Jacob [Paul Lacroix].

¹⁷ Gilles Ménage (1613-92), "Ménagiana," *Ans, ou Collection de Bons Mots*, Amsterdam, 1789, etc., III, 337.

¹⁸ A much truer note is probably struck in letter four: "Ne vous souvient-il pas de ma dernière visite, où, me plaignant de vos rigueurs, vous me promîtes, au sortir de chez vous, que je vous retrouverois plus humaine, si vous me trouviez plus discret?" *Œuvres comiques*, ed. Jacob, II, 179. Cf. Charles Nodier, "Cyrano de Bergerac," *Revue de Paris*, XXIX, 1831, p. 41: "Cyrano étoit alors un fort joli garçon, aux balafres près, qui ne gâtent rien à un beau visage, même dans l'opinion des femmes," and Emile Magne, *op. cit.*, III, 1516.

¹⁹ *Œuvres comiques*, ed. Jacob, II, 193.

²⁰ Magnin, *Histoire des Marionnettes en Europe*, Paris, 1852, p. 156. The edition at Paris in 1704 is the earliest extant; it has been reprinted by Édouard Fournier, *Variétés historiques et littéraires*, I, Paris, 1855, 277-87, and by P. L. Jacob, *Histoire Comique*, pp. lxxv-lxxx. Fournier dates the action before 1654, in which year lackeys were forbidden to carry swords;

spirited narrative of nose-combativeness, about which he remarks in the "Épître a Cîrano de Bergerac":

"Ma foy je sens déjà que ton esprit m'inspire,
Je sens qu'il me force de dire
Ce que de ton vivant tu souhaitois écrire".

The story runs that Cyrano, whose nose, "large par sa tige et recourbé, representoit celui de ces babillards jaunes et verts qu'on apporte de l'Amérique," came up to Jean Brioché's puppet-show just as a group of servants were seeking amusement from the monkey Fagotin. "A l'aspect de la figure de Bergerac, la troupe à couleurs éclata de rire sardoniquement; un de la bande fit faire le moulinet au feutre de l'Auteur, un autre gaillard en luy appuyant une chique-naude au beau milieu de la face, s'écria: Est-ce là vôtre nez de tous les jours? Quel diable de nez! Prenez la peine de le reculer, il m'empêche de voir. Nôtre nasardé plus brave que Dom Quixote de la Manche, mit flamberge au vent contre vingt ou trente agresseurs à brettes." Cyrano vanquished the lackeys and, mistaking Fagotin for one of their number, transfixed him. Poor Brioché brought the offender to trial for murder, but "Bergerac se deffendit en Bergerac; c'est-à-dire avec des écrits facétieux et des paroles grotesques," and won the case.

In the literary controversies which occupied many 17th-century authors, the fiery Cyrano being no exception, there were two general modes of attack, criticism of an opponent's works and satire on his person, habits, or actions. The "Combat" belongs to the latter class of literary warfare and, therefore, need not be considered biographical, as some critics have done. In trying to score points, Cyrano's enemies painted a fantastic portrait of him which finally assumed an expression of madness; and thus it is that Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux (1619-92) speaks of "un fou nommé Cyrano."²¹

Attention should be called to the lackey's verbal badinage of Cyrano in the "Combat." Like insolence receives a sharp rebuff in Ducommun's *Le Nez*: "Un homme de qualité qui avoit le nez fort court, raillant un soldat qui l'avoit fort long: mortbleu, lui dit ce soldat, pourquoi en voulez-vous tant à mon nez, Monsieur? Est-ce que vous croyez qu'il ait été fait aux dépens du vôtre?"²²

These nose anecdotes were combined by the author of *Le Momus François ou les Aventures Divertissantes du Duc de Roquelaura*. The duke is described as possessing a nose "plat & accrasé entre ses deux yeux, de maniere qu'on auroit eû bien de la peine à le discerner, si deux larges narines toujours barbouillées de tabac, n'eussent frappé la veüe,"²³ and as being a buffoon and a lover of *équivoques*, gay, satiric, generous, brave, amorous — in short, a Gascon. Roquelaura took a mortal dislike to Mr. l'Evêque du Puy because he had "un nez

and Jacob assigns the authorship to Dassoucy (*op. cit.*, p. liii), through whose instigation Fagotin was dressed and trained to burlesque Cyrano. This version appealed to the imagination of Louis Gallet; see his *Le Capitaine Satan, Aventures de Cyrano de Bergerac*, Paris, 1899, pp. 40-3.

²¹ *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, ed. MM. de Monmerqué and Paulin Paris, Paris, 1854-60, VII, 536.

²² Ducommun, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

²³ [Antoine LeRoy] *Le Momus François*, Cologne, 1727, p. 3. Five new escapades appear in the *Aventures Galantes et Divertissantes du Duc de Roquelaura ou le Momus François* (Amsterdam, 1734), but none contains pertinent matter about the duke's nose.

d'une taille démesurée; c'est à dire long & comme on dit, propre à crever des chassiss."²⁴ Being admitted to the court after a short banishment for snapping the prelate's nose with his finger, Roquelaure found his approach to Louis XIV unconsciously blocked by his enemy: "de grace, Monsieur, rangez un peu vôtre nez, que je puisse voir le Roy." The ecclesiastic, equally ready of wit, replied seriously: "He! mon Dieu, Monsieur . . . vous en voulez bien à mon pauvre nez qui n'en peut; Mais croyez vous peut-être qu'il ait été fait aux dépens du votre?"²⁵

The sagas of Cyrano de Bergerac and Roquelaure have much more in common than the request to move aside a large nose which obstructs the view. Gaston-Jean-Baptiste, marquis, then duc, de Roquelaure, born in 1617, just two years before Cyrano, took up the profession of arms early in life and gained a reputation for valor. Even more distinguished for wit, the duke was soon glorified by popular imagination into a very god (Momus) of practical jokes, raillery, and amatory adventure.²⁶ Anecdotes originally told of other men or taken from such facetious collections as *Roger Bontemps en belle humeur* (Cologne, 1670), a work actually attributed to the duke, were quickly assimilated to the Roquelaure legend. The *Momus François*, a repository for these materials, went through several editions and eventually afforded the suggestion for a vaudeville, *Roquelaure, ou l'Homme le plus laid de France*, by de Leuven, de Livry, and Lhérie, produced at the Théâtre de la Gaité on Dec. 20th, 1836. In the dramatic version, Roquelaure becomes "monsieur Grand-Nez" (III, iv): "j'ai beau avoir quelque esprit . . . le cœur tendre, l'âme noble et généreuse; j'ai un diable de nez qui fait un tort immense à tout cela . . . allons, allons, du courage" (IV, v).²⁷ The plot may be summarized as follows: While in Madrid, Roquelaure falls in love with a young widow, Hélène de Solanges, whom he serenades and epistolizes, without allowing his ugly visage to be seen. When Hélène returns to France, Roquelaure follows her, getting around Louis XIV's sentence of banishment by an *équivoque*. M. de Candal, "cadet de Gascogne," likewise falls in love with Hélène and is assisted by Roquelaure as long as the latter remains ignorant of the object of his friend's affection.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

²⁶ Three generations of Roquelaures were famed for their daring humor. — Antoine, d. 1625; Gaston-Jean-Baptiste, d. 1683; and Antoine-Gaston-Jean-Baptiste, d. 1738. Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, characterizes the last as "un plaisant de profession" whose wife, beautiful and courtly, was much favored by Louis XIV: "On n'oublia guère le bon mot qui lui échappa en nombreuse compagnie à la naissance de sa fille aînée. 'Mademoiselle, dit-il, soyez la bien-venue, je ne vous attendais pas sitôt.' En effet, elle ne s'était pas fait attendre." *Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon sur le Siècle de Louis XIV et la Régence*, Paris, 1829-30, IV, 438. This anecdote may also be found in the *Momus François*, *Avanture IV*. Not only has tradition confused Gaston and Antoine-Gaston, who both served under Louis XIV (b. 1638; d. 1715), but A.-A. Barbier, J.-M. Quérard, and the *Biographie Universelle* have mistaken son for father.

²⁷ A large nose was probably substituted because of its stage possibilities; thus was added another link between the Roquelaure and Cyrano legends. On the other hand, editions of the duke's life subsequent to 1836 retain the scanty nose: "Ce que j'avais de plus défectueux était sans contredit mon nez, qui était un peu trop camard pour que j'essayai ici d'en entreprendre le panégyrique et la réhabilitation." M. de Robville, *Histoire curieuse du duc de Roquelaure surnommé l'homme le plus laid et le plus gai de France*, Paris, 1869, p. 9, and *Les Aventures du duc de Roquelaure racontées par lui-même*, Paris, 1879, I, 12 (see I, 202 for Roquelaure's estimate of Cyrano).

R. "... Tiens, je voudrais avoir ta figure et être bête comme toi . . ."

C. "Je sais bien je n'ai pas ton esprit . . ."

R. "Et moi, je n'ai pas ton physique. Ah! à nous deux nous ferions un homme complet?" (I, vi)

On learning that he has aided Candal against his own interests, Roquelaure confuses the tongue-tied lover as to the hour of the assignation and takes his place, not fearing that in the dark "elle me rira au nez comme tant d'autres" (I, vii). Roquelaure's eloquence sways Hélène, but she obviously considers herself wooed by the handsome cadet. Finding no one at the rendez-vous, Candal proceeds to Hélène's house, resolved on forcing her consent to marriage or, failing in that, on compromising her. Roquelaure, wearing a black mask, enters from the balcony in time to save Hélène; later, he calls her to his bedside, under pretext of a mortal wound received in his duel with Candal, and reveals his ugliness as well as his love.

R. "Mais par malheur si ma figure

N'avait ni grâce ni beauté!"

H. "Eh! que m'importe? la nature

De tant d'esprit vous a doté!"

R. "Mais si j'étais laid . . . comme Roquelaure?"

H. "Toujours en beau je verrais mon époux" (IV, ix).²⁸

Julius Schmidt has made a careful comparative study of the vaudeville and of Rostand's drama and has arrived at a sound conclusion: "Bezüglich der Hauptidee — der geistreiche, grossnasige Held und der schöne Tor im Kampf um die eine Frau — und bezüglich der eben besprochenen Szene [*Roq.*, II, vii; *Cyr.*, III, 10] müsste ein eigenartiger Zufall vorliegen, wenn nicht *Roquelaure* den Dichter des *Cyrano* angeregt hätte."²⁹ Even the germ of the contrast between spiritual beauty and fleshly ugliness may be found in *Roquelaure*, though Rostand had given expression to the antithesis in his early poem, "Le Divan":

"Ce qu'il faut pouvoir, ce qu'il faut savoir, . . .

C'est avoir des yeux qui, voyant le laid,

Voient le beau quand même".³⁰

Besides the material which was available in the life and writings of Cyrano and in the kindred Roquelaure legend, Rostand had at his service the rich lore of Cyrano's romantic biographers of the 19th century, foremost among these being Théophile Gautier, who is evidently pleased with his subject's "nez triomphal":

"Ce nez invraisemblable se prélassait dans une figure de trois-quarts dont il couvre entièrement le petit côté; il forme, sur le milieu, une montagne qui me paraît devoir être, après l'Himalaya, la plus haute montagne du monde; puis il se

²⁸ Roquelaure had already arrived at a similar conclusion: Though physically unattractive, he has beauty of heart, which is true beauty. "Socrate a raison . . . (*montrant sa figure*) la beauté n'est pas là . . . (*montrant son cœur*) elle est là!" (III, viii). Other summaries of the play may be found in Julius Schmidt, "Rostands *Cyrano de Bergerac* und das Vaudeville *Roquelaure*," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXXVII, 1911, pp. 203-4, and in Jules Haraszti, *Edmond Rostand*, Paris, 1913, p. 80, note 1. The vaudeville itself may be read in the *Magasin Théâtral*, XVI, 1837.

²⁹ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

³⁰ Edmond Rostand, *Les Musardises 1887-1893*, éd. nouvelle, Paris, 1911, p. 22.

précipite vers la bouche, qu'il obombre largement, comme une trompe de tapir ou un rostre d'oiseau de proie; tout à fait à l'extrémité, il est séparé en deux portions par un filet assez semblable, quoique plus prononcé, au sillon qui coupe la lèvre de cerise d'Anne d'Autriche . . . Cela fait comme deux nez distincts dans une même face, ce qui est trop pour la coutume."³¹

Gautier's grotesque finds an echo in Rostand's play, where the changes rung on Cyrano's nose are infinitely more varied than those of any former biographer or legend-builder. With the background I have rapidly sketched in mind, we may study the important nose-scenes in *Cyrano de Bergerac* and parallel them with episodes in earlier nose-literature. To Ragueneau is given the first description of the protagonist's most striking feature:

"On ne peut voir passer un pareil nasigère

Sans s'écrier: 'Oh! non, vraiment, il exagère!'

Puis on sourit, on dit: 'Il va l'enlever . . .' Mais

Monsieur de Bergerac ne l'enlève jamais" (I, ii).

The probable falseness of a large or misshapen nose was once the subject of jest. Noses demolished by disease, bullet, or duelling sword were replaced by artificial make-shifts or by the transfer of flesh made possible by rhinoplasty or plastic surgery. In either case, the result was sufficiently crude and laughable, as we may gather from the medical treatises of Gasparo Tagliacozzi (1546-99)³² and Ambroise Paré.

"Parquoy celuy qui aura perdu son nez, faut qu'il en face faire vn autre par artifice, soit d'or ou d'argent, ou de papier et linges collés, de telle figure et couleur qu'estoit le sien: lequel sera lié et attaché par certains filets derriere l'occiput, ou à vn bonnet".³³

Diego, as we learn from the tale of Slawkenbergius in *Tristram Shandy*, unfortunately carried about "a ponderous mass of heterogeneous matter . . . congested and conglomerated to the nose," which was more than once suspected of being "a false nose" — "a nose of parchment."

When Cyrano allows his own fertile imagination to run riot on his nose, he compares it to a trunk, an owl's beak, a rock, a peak, a cape, a peninsula, a scissor-sheath, an ink-pot, a bird perch, a chimney afire, a hat-hook, a Red Sea, a perfumery sign, a conch, a monument, a gable, a giant turnip, a dwarf pumpkin (I, iv). Jean Auvray's nose utility list strikingly resembles Rostand's in general, though not sharing with it any specific comparisons.

"L'Hyuer, au feu ce Nez de balle

Lui sert d'Escran contre le hasle

Et de Parassol en Esté.

"Je ne tiendray plus pour merueille

La Pyramide nompareille

³¹ Gautier, *Les Grotesques*, Paris, 1844, I, 289-90. Cf. Cyrano's nose questions, "Est-il mol et ballant, monsieur, comme une trompe? . . . Ou crochu comme un bec de hibou?" and his self-portrait, "Descriptif: 'C'est un roci! . . . c'est un pic! . . . c'est un cap! / Que dis-je, c'est un cap? . . . C'est une péninsule!'" (I, iv).

³² See Hieronymus Mercurialis, *De Decoratione liber*, Francofvrdi, 1587, pp. 115-20, and Gaspari Taliscotii Bononiensis . . . *De Curtorum Chirurgia per insitionem*, Venetiis, 1597. The remaking of the nose was actually practised as early as the 13th and 14th centuries; see James J. Walsh, "Two Chapters in the History of Laryngology and Rhinology," *Annals of Medical History*, II, 1919, p. 25, col. 2.

³³ *Œuvres complètes d'Ambroise Paré*, éd. J.-F. Malgaigne, Paris, 1840-41, II, 605, col. 2.

Qui jadis ombrageoit Memphis,
 Puis quo ce Nez à triple estage
 A Midi mettroit à l'ombrage
 Six rangs de picquers dix à dix.
 "Ce grand Nez sert en mainte sorte,
 De verroüil à fermer la Porte,
 De Bourdon pour vn Pelerin,
 De Iauelot, de Hallebarde,
 De Pilon à broyer Moustarde,
 Et de Claquet pour vn Moulin.

"Il sert aux Massons de Truelle,
 D'un Euentail à Damoiselle,
 De Besche pour les Iardiniers,
 De Soc pour Labourer la Terre,
 D'une Trompette pour la Guerre,
 Et d'Astrolabe aux Mariniers.

"Ce Nez en dos-d'Asne se cambre
 Comme l'Anse d'un pot de chambre,
 Puis s'éuazant en Coquemart
 Son gros bout, plat comme vne gâche,
 Se rend propre à faire vn rondache
 Ou l'Escusson d'un Iaquemart."³⁴

Cyrano refers to his nose as illustrating a phrase, *avoir pignon sur rue*, 'to have a house of one's own', the word *pignon* meaning 'gable':

"Respectueux: 'Souffrez, monsieur, qu'on vous salue,
 C'est là ce qui s'appelle avoir pignon sur rue!'"

The comparison may have been suggested by d'Ouville's story of a large-nosed officer commissioned to see that shop fronts which bulged out into the street should be torn down. The wrecker, however, was held up to ridicule by a clever merchant.

"Ce marchand le considerant attentivement, & voyant qu'il avoit un nez fort grand, qui excedoit de deux grands pouces ceux qui l'avoient le plus avancé: le marchand lui repartit soudain, si cela est Monsieur, pourquoi n'avez-vous pas commencé par vôtre nez qui avance bien plus sur vôtre visage, que ma maison ne fait sur la rue; Et voiant que ce Sergent au grand nez avoit fort peu de barbe, il dit qu'il ne s'en étonnoit & qu'il étoit impossible qu'elle eut pû pousser à l'abri d'un si grand nez; Comme nous voyons les hais & les palissades fort claires, quand elles se rencontrent à l'abri d'un grand arbre".³⁵

In a moment of confidence, Cyrano tells Lebreton that he is prevented from thinking of love, because of his ridiculous nose, which precedes him by a quarter of an hour (I, v). Although there are literary instances of honorable and

³⁴ Auvray, "Le Nez," *Le Banquet des Muses*, Roven, 1623, pp. 46-7. Rostand was well acquainted with the literary period in which the work appeared; it was also brought out in the Collection Gay by P. L. Jacob (1865). My attention was called to this poem, to the story quoted from d'Ouville, and to the possibility of finding nose allusions in Quevedo by Prof. G. L. van Roosbroeck, to whom I am indebted for valuable criticism.

³⁵ *Les Contes du Sieur d'Ouville*, Amsterdam, 1732, II, 83-4; also *Les Contes aux Heures perdues* of d'Ouville, Paris, 1644, III, 317-18: "D'un Bourgeois à un Sergent qui avoit un tres-grand nez."

reciprocal affection thwarted by a monstrous nose, the most interesting is that of the Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), of whom Fynes Moryson writes:

"Tugo-Brahe . . . lived here [Iland Wheen, given him by King Fredrick] solitarily at this time [1593], & was said . . . to live unmarried, but keeping a Concubine . . . & the reason of his so living, was thought to be this; because his nose having been cut off in a quarrell, when he studied in an University of Germany, he knew himselfe thereby disabled to marry any Gentlewoman of his own quality".³⁶

The Cadets of Carbon de Castel-Jaloux warn Christian de Neuville not to insult Cyrano nasally, for he once killed two men who merely snuffed. Nothing daunted, Christian interrupts the duellist's "récit du combat" with his insolent "sur le nez," "une nasarde," "nez à nez," "à plein nez," "nez au vent" until the latter can bear it no longer, — "Tonnerre! Sortez tous!" (II, ix). The originality of this scene is in no way lessened by the fact that it has a chance parallel in W. W. Martin's *Our Noses* (London, 1893, pp. 85-8). A lecturer with the habit of snorting through his long large nose speaks to his class on noses. A snub-nosed student breaks in continually with puns and wise remarks, causing the professor to grow progressively more and more irate.

"No buffoonery, Sir . . . A good Nose must be long! I repeat — must be long!"

"Oh, yes, Sir . . . We all agree! A good Nose must belong — to its owner."

The lecturer, overturning the table and breaking the water-bottle in his anger, orders the impertinent student to follow his snub out of the classroom.

With the possible exception of Auvray and d'Ouville, none of the authors from whom I have drawn illustrations of particular scenes in "*Cyrano de Bergerac*" has had any influence on Rostand. A study of nose-literature as a whole demonstrates clearly enough the dramatist's indebtedness for plot materials, but it also shows that in the actual phrasing of nose-conceits Rostand borrowed few expressions or comparisons from his predecessors.

This then is the survey of the accretions by which a 17th-century author-swordsman, "avantagé en nez" and possessing a "nez qui coupe" — a notable spirit and searching wit,³⁷ — has purchased immortality through the ever-increasing fame of his nose. Displaying in his own life the traits of character associated in popular physiognomy with large-nosed men — fieriness, satire, aggressiveness, leadership, — he became the focal point for traditional nose-lore and, by borrowing wisely from the saga of his contemporary, the duc de Roquelaure, took his place in the vivid scenes of "*Cyrano de Bergerac*" as one of the great heroes of romance.³⁸

COLEMAN O. PARSONS

VASSAR COLLEGE

³⁶ Moryson, *An Itinerary*, Glasgow, 1907-8, I, 125. See also Peter Gassendi, *Tychonis Brahe . . . Vita*, editio secunda, Hagae-Comitum, 1655, p. 10, and J. L. E. Dreyer, *Tycho Brahe*, Edinburgh, 1890, pp. 26-7, 71, n. 1.

³⁷ See James Howell, *A French and English Dictionary Composed by Mr. Randle Cotgrave*, London, 1673, i. v. nez.

³⁸ For a parallel discussion, see my "Remarks on English Nose Literature," *Notes and Queries* CLXV, 2-4, and the addenda in CLX, 50, 70, 88, 102, 124, 139, 159, 195, 249, 285, 430, and CLXVI, 13-4.

JEAN TOUSSEUL: A WALLOON NOVELIST

Sunt Lacrimae Rerum

SA biographie? Il l'a écrite en poète, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, tout le long de son œuvre. Car il raconte toujours ce qu'il a connu le mieux,—la vie de son village et de ses humbles habitants. Il vit avec et pour ses souvenirs. "Je redeviens un enfant et j'écoute une voix frêle et douce me raconter une très vieille histoire", dit-il à la fin d'un de ses derniers livres. Ces très vieilles histoires il les a toujours écoutées et racontées à son tour avec une fraîcheur édénique. C'est pourquoi Hubert Krains dit de lui: "Ce Wallon est un pur Latin et si, par l'intensité et la perfection, ses livres se trouvent au-dessus de notre petite patrie, ils gardent tout le parfum de la terre wallonne." Lisez d'abord *Images et Souvenirs*, *Silhouettes et Croquis*, puis *Humbles Visages*, et vous comprendrez combien de lui-même il a mis dans ses contes et surtout dans son chef-d'œuvre, *Jean Clarambaux*. Vous y trouverez la maison où il est venu au monde, les honnêtes ouvriers ses parents; vous entendrez les chansons du village, vous verrez évoqués dans des esquisses inoubliables les visages familiers à son enfance, — le vieux médecin, le prêtre, le maître d'école et les carriers. Et vous y trouverez partout un enfant sensible "qui n'était pas comme les autres", qui frissonnait en écoutant le rossignol, qui suivait les bohèmes, invinciblement attiré par les sons d'une cornemuse. Vous entendrez encore les regrets de cet enfant "qui a mal tourné", qui est devenu un vagabond, par soif de justice, puis un maître écrivain artiste, par amour de son village. "Sa philosophie", dit Désiré Denuit, "dérive de Rousseau, de Michelet, de Tolstoï: amour de l'humanité, perception aigüe des misères terrestres, soif d'une aube meilleure." En se rappelant le maître d'école, qui a quitté le village après une vie de dévouement, pauvre comme il y est venu, Tousseul dit: "Pour la première fois, je m'aperçus que la société n'était pas juste . . . Le cas du maître de l'école éveilla la première révolte de ma vie." On peut suivre le révolté à travers sa vie de vagabondage dans *Une Station* et il y a certainement des reflets de sa vie agitée dans *La Veilleuse*, roman inquiétant qui a eu beaucoup de succès. Or Jean Tousseul est toujours sincère; il a vite trouvé que l'existence d'agitateur politique n'était pas la sienne: à la fin du livre le héros anonyme quitte la ville pour se retirer dans un village. Et malgré les sept éditions de *La Veilleuse*, le romancier n'a pas poursuivi ce genre. Comme Antigone, il est né pour aimer, non pas pour haïr. Georges Eekhoud, qui frise parfois l'anarchie dans son amer-tume devant l'injustice sociale, s'écria, à propos du premier volume de Jean Tousseul: "Il s'agissait d'un ouvrier chérissant d'abord ses frères, mais n'apportant dans cette sollicitude rien de la hargneuse partialité du sectaire, du politicien et du polémiste. Ni déclamation, ni diatribe, tout au plus un soupçon d'ironie." Jean Tousseul dit dans l'avertissement de *La Veilleuse*, (Oh! il n'en fait pas souvent!):

"L'auteur a payé, par ce livre, le tribut à l'inquiétude contemporaine: la trépidation amoureuse et cruelle des villes . . . L'auteur, sans doute, a obéi à son destin en écrivant ce livre, mais il s'est libéré aussitôt de la ville, il est parti — comme son héros et comme Loth — reprendre racine dans la pleine campagne que jamais il n'eût quittée s'il avait été bien inspiré. Homme du peuple et de la terre, il a voulu revivre près du peuple et de la terre. Il se réconciliera ainsi avec l'humanité et la vie."

Il écrit dans ce même avertissement que le livre n'a rien d'un récit autobiographique. Loin de moi de vouloir le contredire. Mais il a ajouté que les personnages du roman sont devenus ses amis, et cela signifie qu'il y a quelque chose de lui en eux. L'histoire du jeune pêcheur peut bien être l'allégorie de l'expérience de l'auteur. Il a rêvé une Utopie sociale, et il croyait d'abord la réaliser rapidement en suivant les idées radicales répandues. Il s'est vu désillusionné, mais il n'a pas cessé de chérir l'Utopie; seulement, désormais, il fait un parti à lui-même. De là son nom de plume, *Jean Tousseul*. Voici la fin de l'histoire du pêcheur:

"Il ne regrette point sa barque puisqu'elle l'avait abandonné, mais il ne pouvait vivre sans barque: un pêcheur ne guérit jamais de la mer. Il en construit une autre, décidé à refaire les mêmes chemins, mais guidé par l'expérience du naufrage. Ce n'était pas un vagabond qui sautait d'une chaloupe dans l'autre, il ne se sentait en sécurité que dans ce qu'il avait façonné de ses mains."

Ce livre, je l'ai dit, a eu un succès de librairie auquel l'auteur n'était guère accoutumé. Mais Jean Tousseul tient à son intégrité d'artiste. Son dédain du gain matériel ressort plus beau encore quand on songe que, seul de ses collègues littéraires, il ne vit que par sa plume. Avec ce métier-là, on risque fort de mourir de faim, surtout dans les heures de crise. Mais lui ne fera jamais de transactions avec son âme pour améliorer son sort. Ce n'est pas pour rien qu'il est sorti d'une bonne famille d'ouvriers d'autrefois, qui mettait sa fierté au travail bien fait et qui satisfaisait ainsi à sa conscience. Lui, artiste, a juré d'être digne des siens.

On le félicite — et à juste titre — d'avoir enrichi la littérature en y introduisant les carriers et leur rude travail. C'est qu'il a pu les observer de près: son père était ouvrier dans les fours à zinc, et lui-même a connu les périlleuses carrières. On en trouve dans tous ses livres. Il n'idéalise jamais ces pauvres ilotes de la civilisation — ce serait leur faire injure — il les plaint et il les aime tels qu'ils sont. D'ailleurs il sait que la misère et le désespoir créent parfois des héros mais rarement des saints. Il est donc réaliste par sincérité et par amour. On peut se fier à lui quand il conte des traits d'héroïsme et de générosité comme quand il décrit l'ivresse et la brutalité.

Mais n'est-on pas tenté parfois d'oublier que son art ne se borne pas aux carrières et qu'il évoque, en poète réaliste, toute la vie passée et présente de la contrée mosane? "En grandissant, dit-il, je songeais confusément à tous les vieux défunts de chez nous qui avaient martelé la route de leurs pieds calleux, de leurs lourdes chaussures ou de leurs sabots crépitants, au cours des âges passés. Quelle interminable procession! . . . Chers vieux morts et passants aimés de mon enfance, je ne vous ai rien apporté, ni travail, ni science, et je vous ai quittés très tôt, pareil à un ingrat. Mais soyez sûrs que, fidèlement, je vous

ai destiné mes *histoires*, comme une offrande". Et la synthèse, la fine fleur de ces "histoires", il les a mises dans son *Jean Clarambaux*, dont les quatre premiers volumes ont paru.¹

Tousseul a peut-être conçu le premier plan de son roman après la lecture de *Jean Christophe*, — on sait qu'il partage les idées internationalistes de Romain Rolland, — mais on peut déclarer dès maintenant que son œuvre dépasse celle de son prédécesseur en intensité poétique comme en art architectonique. Car, s'il est cosmopolite par la pensée, il a besoin du concret pour son travail, et son monde à lui est un microcosme; il a su trouver la grande humanité sans quitter les bords de la Meuse, sans sortir du petit cercle de ses connaissances intimes. Donc, pas de longueurs: il supprime volontiers les transitions mêmes, car il cherche toujours l'essence dramatique de chaque épisode, et il veut que toute parole atteigne le cœur.

On ne saurait donner un résumé de *Jean Clarambaux*: chaque chapitre réclamerait plutôt une étude minutieuse. Tousseul nous a avoué son rêve d'écolier: d'écrire des pages dignes de figurer à côté de celles qu'il trouvait dans les livres de classe. Il verra un jour ses écrits faire la matière des savantes explications de texte faites par les plus habiles des professeurs soucieux de dévoiler à leurs élèves les secrets de la finesse. Ici je ne ferai que signaler quelques passages pour qu'on juge de la manière de l'écrivain. *Jean Clarambaux*, c'est l'histoire d'un petit garçon frémissant de sensibilité, de ses voisins, et de ses contacts avec la vie — le tout concentré dans un village. L'intelligence précoce de l'enfant lui attire l'intérêt d'un rentier bizarre, M. Nalonsart, qui lui paye ses frais d'étude à l'athénée. Ce bienfaiteur l'aurait envoyé à l'université mais le garçon aime son village et y reste comme maître d'école, adoré par ses élèves. L'auteur a avoué souvent que c'est là le métier que lui-même aurait choisi, s'il avait été libre. Voilà les trois premiers volumes; la guerre, vue d'un village, fournit le thème du quatrième. Voyons maintenant l'artiste à l'œuvre.

Marie et Jacques Clarambaux sont les enfants d'une bonne famille d'ouvriers de Bois-de-Namur. Jacques travaille comme son père dans les fours à chaux et Marie apprend à coudre. Le père meurt soudainement, en s'asseyant à table; puis, c'est la mère.

"La maman était partie à son tour, — un malheur n'arrive jamais seul, — non pas assise à table, mais en travaillant, puisqu'elle travaillait de l'aube au soir et que le bon Dieu n'avait pas attendu qu'elle fût au lit: elle s'était appuyée au dressoir et avait raidi les jambes. Jacques demanda: 'Que faites-vous là, Man? . . .' elle poussa un gros soupir et tomba dans les bras du pauvre garçon: elle était morte. Les gens qui vinrent la voir le lendemain, chuchotaient en se penchant sur le lit: 'Qu'elle est belle: on dirait qu'elle dort.' Elle était toute blonde encore et rose, dans sa blouse de cachemire, et elle avait l'air de sourire en sommeillant et de penser: 'Qu'il fait bon se reposer.'"

En allant chez la couturière Marie rencontre Jean Smal, le plus fort casseur de la carrière Madame. Celui-ci demande honnêtement à Jacques l'autorisation de venir voir Marie à la maison, jurant qu'il l'aimait pour de bon. Puis nous avons la rapide idylle de leurs amours. Jean dit:

¹ T. I: *Le Village Gris*, Paris, Rieder, 1927; t. II: *Le Retour*, *ibid.*, 1930; t. III: *L'Eclaircie*, *ibid.*, 1931; t. IV: *La Rafale*, Bruxelles, Les Editions de Belgique, 1933.

"Nous nous marierons en sortant de deuil . . . Et puis, mon Dieu! il arrive ce qui arrive, comme dit la chanson triste. Elle avait la bouche trop mûre pour son âge, voyez-vous. Elle devint brusquement une grande fille enamourée, angoissée, reconnaissante, confuse, grave soudain de ne plus rien ignorer. Pourquoi ce soir-là plutôt qu'un autre? Pourquoi? Seules les méchantes gens peuvent répondre. Et pour le reste, ces deux enfants ne savaient pas.

"Or, un soir, Jacques s'attarda. Inquiète, elle allait voir sur la route. Rien. Une pie avait crié toute l'après-midi, autour de la maison, d'arbre en arbre. Serait-il vrai que les malheurs se suivent? Rien encore. Est-ce que Jacques était malade . . . ou, mon Dieu! tombé dans le four? Mais il est là-bas, assis au bord du chemin. Elle court, clip! clap!

"—Qu'avez-vous, Jacques? . . ."

"Comme il est blanc! Il pleure plein ses moustaches et dit:

"—C'est Jean . . ."

"Non! non! elle ne veut plus y penser! ni aux pierres qui l'ont recouvert, ni à sa tête, ni à ses jambes! Non! non! non!

"Et un autre soir, après le souper, dans l'ombre, elle s'était mise à genoux devant Jacques et avait joint les mains:

"—Frère, je vais avoir un enfant. Voulez-vous que j'aie me noyer dans l'étang?"

"Il s'était penché vers elle, en tremblant comme une feuille:

"—Ma pauvre petite fille . . ."

"—Ne serez-vous pas honteux, Jacques?"

"Il avait caressé la tête blonde:

"—Je travaillerai pour trois."

J'ai tenu à reproduire cette page émouvante parce qu'elle marque plus nettement qu'un long commentaire la manière narrative de l'auteur.

Le petit Jean vient donc au monde la veille de Noël, et l'oncle Jacques, "Monque" désormais, tient parole jusqu'à sa mort tragique dans la mine. L'auteur déploie tout son art et toute son intuition sympathique en traçant l'éveil de l'enfant à la beauté matérielle et spirituelle. Jean Tousseul a, comme Rousseau, le don de la mémoire évocatrice, et il revit visiblement ici sa propre enfance. L'histoire de Jacques remplit un court chapitre corsé où l'on trouve en résumé les tableaux que le romancier fait souvent du dur travail des mines. Monque est un des saints du livre. Un soir quand Man demande au petit à quoi il songe, il répondit: "je veux être Monque, plus tard . . . pour nous deux."

Et l'auteur sait peindre avec la même simplicité poignante les paysages de sa contrée. Pour ne pas trop multiplier les citations, je dois me contenter de renvoyer le lecteur à la belle anthologie choisie par Raoul Couvreur.² L'influence ineffaçable du paysage de son enfance est chantée dans tous les livres de Jean Tousseul.

"Hameau natal! Bien-aimée image vivante, vous êtes la seule oasis, même lointaine, car vous êtes unique telle une Maman. Le petit garçon s'en ira, un jour, faire comme un vaillant homme un long pèlerinage, mais toujours la musique de deux syllabes maçonnera brusquement devant ses yeux le visage radieux et accueillant du nid délaissé. Vous lui sourirez dans ses joies et ses

² *Le Poème de la Terre et des Hommes*, tiré des belles pages de Jean Tousseul, Bruxelles, A. De Boeck, 1933.

douleurs, dans les grandes villes pleines de lumières, dans les prisons pleines d'ombre, vous serez là, toujours, la fidèle, la toute-bonne, la maternelle. Bien-aimée image vivante, est-ce que l'âme primitive du voyageur serait restée chez vous? Attendriez-vous le retour de l'autre avec sérénité?"

Arrêtons-nous un moment à quelques silhouettes d'une fraîcheur printanière — celles des jeunes filles aimées par le jeune Clarambaux. Un chapitre sur deux du *Retour* porte le nom d'une de ces nymphes, mais quelle poésie et quelle variété dans ces idylles. Et, comme toujours, la vie et la littérature ne font qu'un. Voici la bergère Sylvie qui a croisé le chemin de l'adolescent. Un jour il se promène au bois, emportant Virgile et Théocrite qu'il lit à haute voix: "*O Sylvie-Galatée, plus douce à mes yeux que le thym de l'Hybla plus blanche que les cygnes, plus belle que le lierre pâle, viens à moi . . . O Sylvie-Amaryllis, toi dont le regard est beau, qui toute entière reluis . . .*" 'Est-ce que je suis si belle que cela?' résonne une voix railleuse entre les buissons". Le jeune homme, très conscient de sa figure couturée par la petite vérole, est timide. Toutes ces amours finissent sans tare pour les aimées et un refrain millénaire berce la mélancolie de l'écolier: "Où êtes-vous, Sylvie, faunesse aux cheveux roux . . . ?"

A la fin du troisième volume Jean est fiancé. Lui et la douce Agnès ont choisi leur nid futur quand la guerre éclate. Après tant de récits émouvants du cataclysme, *La Rafale* apporte une note inaccoutumée qui vous saisit jusqu'aux entrailles. Il n'y a pas de batailles mais l'angoisse de quelques villageois qui représentent l'humanité. Le tableau gagne à être concentré. On y voit les jusqu'au-boutistes, mangeurs de sabre loin du front, et par contraste voilà le philosophique M. Nalonsart qui cultive son jardin, tout en se faisant la providence du village. On y voit l'ennemi, tantôt cynique et brutal, tantôt humanitaire, bon enfant même et qui souffre, lui aussi, de la folie universelle. Et des noms propres sont cités dans les deux cas, — pour rehausser le réalisme peut-être, assurément pour perpétuer l'ignominie et la gloire. On est témoin de la souffrance physique et parfois de la décadence morale des deux côtés. Mais que devient le maître d'école? Comme de juste son rôle est un peu effacé par le fléau hideux. Il est toujours là, pourtant, au-dessus de la mêlée, luttant pour conserver les restes de son idéalisme, et aidant M. Nalonsart en sa tâche de médiateur. Il est parfois blessé par le détachement plus apparent que réel de son vieil ami, mais à la longue lui aussi désespère de l'humanité et cherche une évasion dans la botanique, sans cesser de faire son possible pour améliorer le sort des misérables. Le livre finit sur une note douloureuse dont l'avertissement, écrit depuis, fait l'écho. Comme chronique réaliste et frémissante des choses vues et vécues, ce volume sera difficilement dépassé.

J'ai dit que tout l'art de Jean Tousseul se trouve ramassé dans ce roman. Jean Clarambaux s'intéresse à l'histoire de son pays qu'il lit dans les fossiles des carrières aussi bien que dans des livres. Et il y trouve l'expérience universelle. Après une promenade il réfléchit: "Rien n'était donc changé depuis les pyramides des Pharaons et il avait vécu tout près de ces pauvres gens sans venir voir leur peine. Il s'était apitoyé au cours d'histoire sur les carriers de la chaîne Arabique et les maçons de Memphis; leur martyre avait hanté ses soirées et ses nuits, et le professeur n'avait pas dit que ce martyre subsistait à onze kilomètres du collège. Il sentait le pittoresque vain et l'égoïsme des leçons". Ce passage est comme la critique de Jean Tousseul adressée à toute la production

de ses confrères. Pour lui, tout art littéraire qui vaille est le reflet angoissé de la vie même, observée sans parti pris mais avec une sympathique sincérité.

Un conte où se révèlent les secrets de son réalisme à la fois détaché et troublant, et où il évoque le passé d'une façon inoubliable est *Le Grand Malheur*, pourtant il en a signé bien d'autres presque aussi poignants.

L'auteur nous transporte en l'année 1406 et nous rend témoins de l'angoisse d'un hameau à l'approche d'une éclipse de soleil. On y voit le précurseur de la fin subite du monde.

"On ne parlait plus que du cataclysme dans les cabanes, les abbayes, les béguinages et les châteaux. On travaillait sans joie dans les champs et les ateliers, on évoquait le souvenir des anciennes pestes, des gens d'armes qui avaient dévasté le pays, des famines pendant lesquelles on ne mangeait plus que des racines et des herbes, des longs hivers peuplés de loups, des huttes gelées, des signes mystérieux qui vivaient dans les interminables nuits silencieuses: des étoiles à plusieurs queues, des météores vagabonds, d'immenses linceuls, blancs, roses et violets, et les yeux éperdus des gens, depuis plusieurs semaines, voyaient l'une ou l'autre chose extraordinaire dans le ciel hostile."

Cette ambiance de terreur est corsée par des incidents qui deviennent, grâce au babil superstitieux des villageois, autant de lugubres augures. Voici d'abord un saint ermite qui se lamentait sur les péchés des hommes et sur leur misère. "Le monde faillirait-il demain? On eût pu s'étonner que le châtement ne fût pas venu plus tôt." Lui n'était pas bien convaincu que la prophétie se réaliserait, mais à tout hasard, il se disposait à écrire les dernières pages de son almanach. — Puis nous voyons un vieux terrassier, Materne Jacoris, dont la rude vie lui a donné peu de raison de regretter la mort. "Seul, son jardin l'avait consolé parce qu'il empêchait l'homme de penser." Mais, en bêchant, il réfléchissait à la longue ligne de ses ancêtres et à sa petite fille qui serait la dernière de sa famille. Cette pensée lui inspirait un désir irrésistible de se trouver avec des amis.

Le tailleur de pierres de son côté rêvait du passé et de ses projets pour l'avenir. Il était fier du travail inlassable des siens qui avaient fourni la pierre pour la plupart des monuments de la contrée. A son tour il voulait construire un village modèle avec des routes pavées et des écluses pour le garer des inondations de la Meuse . . . Tout d'un coup on l'appela d'en haut:

"Le carrier leva les yeux et aperçut la silhouette endimanchée de Materne Jacoris. Le vieillard était pâle et raide comme un annonciateur de mauvaises nouvelles et le bâtisseur se souvint brusquement du Grand Malheur qui guettait le ciel et la terre."

Ensuite c'est un conducteur de bac qui depuis quarante ans charriait les gens sur la fleuve. Son gousset s'était rempli rapidement ces jours-ci.

"De l'aube au soir, il ramait d'une rive à l'autre, emportant dans sa barque des vieux qui allaient mourir auprès de leurs enfants et des étrangers, riches et pauvres, qui débarquaient, la mine soucieuse, sans avoir dit un mot . . . Le Grand Malheur imprimait ce va-et-vient aux gens comme l'ouragan fait bouger l'eau du fleuve entre les rives garnies de joncs. On ne tenait plus en place, on avait peur de la solitude et de soi-même, on errait à la recherche d'une parole rassurante. Assis sur la berge, son vieux visage tanné dans des paumes, le passeur murmura: 'Nous aurions dû mourir l'an passé.'"

Alors le chant du rossignol coloria l'air vespéral et la douceur de vivre surgissait du nouveau dans l'âme du vieillard. Il pensait à un lépreux que, bravant l'ordre du bourgmestre, il avait ramé vers le village. Le pauvre était hideux et, pourtant, il y avait quelques années, c'était un des beaux de la contrée. Ce lépreux devenait soudain aux yeux du passeur le symbole du monde de demain. — Voici un mendiant, vagabond incorrigible, qui n'avait, pour se consoler et pour gagner sa vie, qu'un vieux violon. Il était en route vers son hameau natal où il avait choisi d'affronter la journée fatale. Pour la seconde fois il passa en revue sa carrière accidentée, — la première fois, c'était la veille de son exécution à laquelle il avait échappé par miracle. Il était résigné mais il se mit à jouer un dernier air comme requiem pour tous ceux qui avaient croisé son chemin. Des figures de toutes les classes passaient dans sa mémoire, — toutes, depuis une duchesse jusqu'à des prostituées et des pendants: il n'oublia personne, sauf lui-même.

"Les innombrables frères et sœurs de Crépin le Pauvre, compagnons de misère ou de rire, visages d'un jour, se pressaient autour du violoniste. Quelques coups d'archet encore pour les bonnes gens qui l'avaient secouru aux jours maigres . . . Il joua un dernier morceau à la mémoire des grand'routes, des arbres, des champs, des maisonnettes, des chapelles, des bêtes, des moulins, des meules et des rivières, puis il glissa doucement, s'affaissa en écartant l'instrument avec prudence et s'endormit, sans rêve. Le vagabond était venu bercer l'avait-dernier sommeil de son pays: il lui serait beaucoup pardonné."

Ceux qui ont lu les œuvres de Jean Tousseul comprendront que le vieux vagabond, c'est lui-même, car il n'a jamais cessé de chanter les beautés de son pays.

La dernière scène montre de nouveau l'ermite qui notait dans son almanach les aspects changeants du phénomène. Le soleil s'obscurcissait à vue d'œil et la prophétie semblait s'accomplir. Le terrassier, le carrier, le lépreux, tous les villageois passèrent devant le saint pour se réfugier dans une caverne, mais lui écrivait toujours, ne s'arrêtant que pour calmer son chien qui hurlait.

On le voit: le sujet en lui-même n'a rien de nouveau ni de merveilleux. Le romancier sait que toute l'invention consiste à faire quelque chose de rien, à remplacer l'intrigue compliquée par l'évocation des caractères, et à renouveler dans le cœur des lecteurs l'émotion que les personnages ont sentie devant l'événement. J'ai rappelé Racine car, en art, Jean Tousseul, autodidacte, appartient à la lignée de l'élève favori de Port-Royal.

BENJAMIN MATHER WOODBRIDGE

REED COLLEGE

LAFORGUE AND WALLACE STEVENS

IN R. Taupin's *L'Influence du Symbolisme français sur la Poésie américaine* (Paris, 1929), the work of Wallace Stevens is briefly mentioned as an example of the youngest American poetic generation continuing in the French tradition. M. Taupin's account is hardly more than a note, though he evidently considers Stevens to be at the height of his powers. However, the recent re-issue of Stevens' one book,¹ (appeared first in 1923), with the addition of but

¹ *Harmonium*, N. Y., Knopf, 1931.

a few new poems, the slightness of the poet's output in the last years, and the consistent polish and unchanging viewpoint manifested throughout the volume, indicate that it may be considered a definitive example of his work. Any subsequent writing may add to his output, but it will probably not indicate a change in his personality. Thus, it seems worth while to extend and complete the study which M. Taupin has already suggested.

Stevens is ranked by discerning contemporary critics among the two or three best poets which the 1920's produced. Gorham Munson in a superficial essay² classifies him as a "dandy." In a recent number³ of the *Hound & Horn*, R. P. Blackmur makes a confused attempt to appreciate his verbal technique. M. Taupin himself, in discussing his debt to French poetry, writes: "Il est parent de Baudelaire; il est aussi parent de Laforgue à qui on l'a comparé pour son ironie nonchalante, le ton "pierrot" de ses poèmes, même si Pierrot, son maître, est habillé de noir et porte un chapeau de soie. Il est symboliste par son art de l'évocation, sa recherche des correspondances des mots qui font l'image et mots qui font l'écho."⁴ It is this relation between the two poets, Laforgue and Stevens, which the present essay attempts to scrutinize more closely.

They both share the same problems and both choose somewhat the same method of facing them: that is to say, the philosophical and spiritual dilemmas of which the French symbolists were conscious in the 80's passed over into American literature in the second decade of the present century along with certain elements of technique employed in French writing. Thus, Stevens had the advantage of his predecessor's virtuosity. There are, however, certain differences of temperament. Many of these, no doubt, can be accounted for by race and period. Laforgue's early work is a great cry of disillusionment made all the more bitter by the fact that the period of perpetual disillusionment (the shedding of adolescence) coincided with a fairly general feeling that man had been cosmically "sold out." The decay of religion which had been going on all during the 19th century had at last been verbalized by the artists as a feeling of nakedness before infinity. The veils of traditional idealism had been torn away, the temporary afflatus of Romanticism had subsided; and the creative artist was left with nothing but his aesthetic sensibilities in which to clothe himself. And with this knowledge had come a sharpened perception of reality, the ugly as well as the beautiful, — to some natures a realization of the loathsomeness of physical existence as intense as that of the mediaeval homilist. So it is not surprising that the earlier Laforgue is a small boy whimpering for his mother, alternating between attempts to "dissolve" himself in the comforting arms of Woman:

"... Oh! viens, corps soyeux que j'adore,
Fondons-nous et sans but, plus oublieux encore;
Et tiédís longuement ainsi mes yeux fermés."

and Romantic curses, invoking magnificent maledictions upon the disgusting deception:

"Prenez ce globe immonde et poussif! balayez
Sa lèpre de cités et ses fils ennuyés!

² *Destinations*, N. Y., J. H. Sears, 1928.

³ *Hound & Horn*, vol. 5, no. 2, Jan.-March, 1932.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

Et jetez ses débris sans nom au noir immense!
 Et qu'on ne sache rien, dans la grande innocence,
 Des soleils éternels, des étoiles d'amour,
 De ce cerveau pourri qui fut la Terre, un jour!"

But Laforgue grew older and found, as every one finds, that some defense is necessary against the external world, be it ever so loathsome. His defense was irony, elegance and technique. He discovered that the perfection of one's tools helps one to forget philosophy; and that a similar technique in the mind, checking, neutralizing and juggling with emotion (which is irony) diverts one's attention from the more unpleasant effects of emotion itself. He cultivated his vocabulary, the use of colloquialisms, and the invention of a diverting kind of fantasy. But during his short life he did not succeed in completely objectifying himself. The tricks and the trapeze performance are sometimes a little too aggressively clever; and one finds him sticking out his tongue with tears in his eyes. His love poems record a continual melancholy, because the shimmer of the dream cannot be preserved, and because Woman is a repetition of the same disappointment:

"Cueillez la fleur de mes visages,
 Buvez ma bouche et non ma voix,
 Et n'en cherchez pas davantage . . .
 Nul n'y vit clair; pas même moi."⁵

In short, Laforgue's "chronic orphanism" lasted throughout his short life. He remained a tender Romantic at heart, his charm is grace, *gaminerie* and wistfulness.

Stevens develops qualities found in Laforgue. One can grant this New Englander (of Pennsylvania Dutch parentage) more stolidity, more toughness of mind than the delicate Frenchman. He, too, faced with the death of the Puritan tradition, comes to a meaningless world. He is obliged to reorganize a flood of raw impressions. But if he went through an early phase of Romantic disillusionment, he has left no record of it. There was the tradition of Baudelaire in French letters to warrant one's giving expression to the horrors of existence, but Anglo-Saxons, through pride or mental reserve, do not unburden themselves in the same way. At any rate, Stevens' early poems are as chiselled and objective as his later ones. By his time the world had had an opportunity to get used to moral chaos, and — at least in the case of artists who actually live in America — it is deemed "typically

⁵ *Des Fleurs de bonne Volonté, Œuvres complètes*, 1922, II, p. 100. This attitude owes something to the philosophy of Von Hartman who was himself attempting to deify the forces of instinct and pointed out that the intellectual side of a man in love is doomed to continual disappointment because the only real relation in love is that of unconscious instinct, stronger in women than in men. "And the souls which are one without knowing it, and which can approach no nearer by ever so close an embrace than they eternally are, pine for a blending which can never be theirs so long as they remain distinct individuals" (*Phil. of the Unconscious*, trans. Wm. C. Coupland, London, Trubner & Co., 1884, I, p. 233). Even so, this attitude, which was also shared by Schopenhauer (Love as a trap for reproducing the species), while it might seem to the philosopher Von Hartman to put love on a practical and praiseworthy basis, could not fail to inspire a really poetic nature with bitterness and nostalgia for a more idealistic approach based on a lost religious synthesis. There is a close connection between ill-digested Darwinism and cosmic pessimism in literature at the end of the 19th century. In this respect the Fleming Van de Woestijne presents analogies to Laforgue.

American" to seem "hard-boiled" and content with facts. Stevens takes over the ironic, technically brilliant, method from the beginning. Instead of lunar fantasy (though Stevens has fantasy), imagism with its emphasis on direct observation leads him to cultivate a descriptive eye. Moreover, there is in him a philosophic evolution, exemplified in the long poem, *The Comedian as the Letter C*, which is typically New England and foreign to Laforgue. The poem narrates the awakening of a New Englander with "an eye of land, of simple salad beds" to the gorgeous natural richness of the sea and the tropics, which is also symbolic of the spirit suddenly bereft of tradition, face to face with the rawness of sensation. And like the Utopians and Transcendentalists of the last century, Crispin, overwhelmed and delighted with a new world, wishes to found a colony where:

"The melon should have apposite ritual
Performed in verd apparel, and the peach,
When its black branches came to bud, belle day,
Should have an incantation . . ."

Thus Stevens' discovery of a new world, naked and luxurious, came as Pantheism and delight in nature, a frequent Germanic reaction, but far less normal for a French poet. Laforgue could never:

" Stop short before a plum
And be content and be a realist."

For a time an imagist could and did. But the ambitious colonist is prompted to take a woman; children presently follow, and he finds himself again in the fetters of society with no questions answered:

"The world, a turnip once so readily plucked,
Sacked up and carried overseas, daubed out
Of its ancient purple, pruned to the fertile main,
And sown again by the stiffest realist,
Came reproduced in purple, family font,
The same insoluble lump . . ."

The difference between Laforgue and Stevens now becomes clear: faced with sensation without traditional idealism Laforgue does not turn to the active or the social or the practical; he sees only metaphysical horror and nothing solid on which to fix his emotions. Stevens is far more of a realist, ready to abandon old thoughts and social forms, to build a new society out of the newly discovered world, apparently feeling that the spiritual side of life will automatically come out right. Eventually he finds himself in the same dilemmas as before. Realizing that his discoveries were perhaps naïve, he settles down to a humorous stoicism, retaining his delight in direct observation. It is true that after some activity and "fuss" the American arrives at the same position as the Frenchman, but he is so much more a man of earth that he is less disturbed, — he sits down before the fire, with a slightly wry smile, to polish his memories. Laforgue would have thrown the peaches and plums away pettishly, crying that if he could not have his dreams he did not want to play. Yet, oddly enough, this spiritual dissimilarity notwithstanding, both came to cultivate analogous artistic poses.

Here it is possible to point out definite influences of Laforgue on Stevens. The former is fond of talking about his "lunar pierrots," little, decorative, allegorical figures like the following:

"Encore un de mes pierrots mort;
Mort d'un chronique orphelinisme;
C'était un cœur plein de dandysme
Lunaire, en un drôle de corps."

While Stevens, in more realistic detail, addresses some one whom he calls "buffo":

"To what good, in the alleys of the lilacs,
O caliper, do you scratch your buttocks
And tell the divine ingénue, your companion,
That this bloom is the bloom of soap
And this fragrance the fragrance of vegetal? . . .
"Poor buffo! Look at the lavender
And look your last and look still steadily,
And say how it comes that you see
Nothing but trash and that you no longer feel
Her body quivering in the Floréal . . ."

Laforgue is remarkable for the handling of certain technical terms:

"Oui, c'est l'automne incantatoire et permanent
Sans thermomètre, embaumant mers et continents
Etangs aveugles, lacs ophtalmiques, fontaines
De Léthé, cendres d'air, déserts de porcelaine . . ."

Here these terms lend a feeling of strangeness, that bizarre fantasy in which Laforgue was an ancestor of the surrealists. Similarly in

"Flottaisons de troupeaux éclipseurs d'encéphales,"

he introduces an unusual biological term for the sake of a curious image.

Stevens, too, employs technical terms, not for the sake of fantasy, but for a harsh ironic effect:

"Anabasis or slump, ascent or chute,
Involved him in midwifery so dense
His cabin counted as phylactery."

Or with a certain dry humor:

"..... Imperative Haw
Of hum, inquisitorial botanist
And general lexicographer of mute
And maidenly greenhorns . . ."

Again, Laforgue will employ foreign words, conventionally unpoetic words and grotesque juxtapositions for the sake of humorous irony, every one carefully chosen for musical qualities:

"C'est sur un cou qui, raide, émerge
D'un fraise empesée, idem,
Une face imberbe au cold cream,
Un air d'hydrocéphale asperge.
"Les yeux sont noyés de l'opium
De l'indulgence universelle.
La bouche clownesque ensorcèle
Comme un singulier géranium."

And in the same manner Stevens:

"Bubbling felicity in cantilene,
Prolific and tormenting tenderness
Of music as it comes to unison,
Forgather and bell boldly Crispin's last
Deduction. Thrum with a proud *douceur*
His grand pronounciamento and devise."

The very difficult trick of introducing commonplace or *quotidianal* elements to produce a kind of shock:

"Emballage, dévergondage, douches! O pressoirs
Des vendanges des grands soirs!
Layettes aux abois . . . ,"

which has to be relieved like a dissonance:

"Let the wenches dawdle in such dress
As they are used to wear, and let the boys
Bring flowers in last month's newspapers.
Let be be finale of seem.
The only emperor is the emperor of ice-cream."

And finally an example of words used purely for the sake of the associations which their sound produces and the musical effect of repetition (stemming from Poe) forms one more link between the two poets:

"Cautérise et coagule
En virgules
Ses lagunes des cerises
Des félines Ophélie
Orphelines en folie.
"Tarentule de feintise
La remise
Sans rancune, des ovules
Aux félines Ophélie
Orphelines en folie."

Stevens:

II

"I saw you then, as warm as flesh,
Brunette,
But yet not too brunette,
As warm, as clean.
Your dress was green,
Was whited green,
Green Vincentine.

IV

"And what I knew you felt
Came then.
Monotonous earth I saw become
Illimitable spheres of you,
And that white animal, so lean,
Turned Vincentine,
Turned heavenly Vincentine,

And that white animal so lean,
Turned heavenly, heavenly Vincentine."

It is hard to say which is the finer virtuoso. Laforgue repeats himself more and is softer. Each poem by Stevens is an individual case of perfection, though once in a while an understatement does not quite come off and a line falls flat.

This brief comparison, at least, emphasizes the fact that Stevens was indebted to Laforgue for many technical devices, for examples of the dance of the intellect among words (which Pound calls *Logopoeia*), and that he was able to borrow an attitude not so much toward life as toward art, an attitude of elegance and precision, of poise before the material, which he to some extent refined and developed in adapting it to another language.

H. R. HAYS

NEW YORK CITY

REVIEWS

MEDIAEVAL SPANISH LITERATURE

Sister Teresa Clare Goode, *Gonzalo de Berceo: El Sacrificio de la Misa; A Study of its Symbolism and of its Sources*, Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1933, XVII + 152 pp.

The oldest Spanish poet whom we know by name, Gonzalo de Berceo, (1198?-1280?), has left us over 13,000 verses on religious subjects. They follow written sources generally, but cast out bombast, leaven the heaviness, and add to dry facts a play of fancy, humor, and poetic thought of their own. There is a wide range of subject and treatment: lively battle-scenes, a sombre forecast of the Last Judgment, ecstatic mysticism, sensitive response to external nature. Though not a great poet, Berceo, more than any other, fixed the forms of Castilian verse. Not only that, for while he is singing of *San Millán*, of *Santa Oria*, of the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, he is charting new seas. Quoting from the study before me: "He is creating what Wolf has characterized as the *epopeya de la Iglesia*, and Menéndez Pidal as the *Spanish romantic legend*, of which *Margarita la Tornera*, *A buen juez mejor testigo*, and *El Capitán Montoya* are considered the best examples." Still further, it is perhaps not too much to say that the *auto sacramental* had its inception in such works as *El Sacrificio de la Misa*. "Certainly it does not require a very finely attuned ear to catch in the *Misterios de la Misa* of Calderón echoes of the *Sacrificio* of Berceo."

It was the original intent of Sister Teresa to compare Calderón's and Berceo's symbolism as found in the two works just mentioned, but for the present study she has found such a comparison too voluminous and has postponed it to a future occasion. What she has here done makes a book of 150 pages that exhausts the subject of symbolism in Berceo's *Sacrificio*, and adds a chapter on sources and one on Berceo, the man and poet, besides a bibliography of over 200 entries. Clearly a thorough piece of work.

Berceo, says our author, when looked at from the standpoint of his themes, all of them religious, or his sources, all of them Latin, or looked at from the standpoint of his metrical system, the *cuaderna vía*, might be thought of as belonging among the learned poets. But looked at from the standpoint of his spirit, Berceo is a *juglar*, a popular story-teller. His verses were meant to be read or recited before groups of people. This is the way he wished to be viewed and repeatedly insisted on being viewed. "And yet, with all the evidences of the popular character of his work, it is a little disconcerting to discover that so little seems to have been known of Berceo previous to the 18th century . . . Previous to 1550 no references have been found." But he did come into his own in the 18th, when P. Benito de San Pedro rated him among the *Autores*

de mayor nota en todas las edades de nuestra lengua en el arte del romance castellano; and several editions of his works have appeared since then.

Very interesting and instructive is Sister Teresa's chapter on symbolism as a means of expression. Historically it goes back much farther than she, for her purposes, traces it. Greek philosophers, led by Philo, sought to harmonize the sacred books of the Hebrews with their own teaching. But another stream of philosophy, the neo-Platonic, turned toward a mystical revelation of the Deity in the individual soul. At this point Christianity intervened, claiming to be above all schools and philosophies, and declaring that all the mystery religions, some of which bore striking resemblance to Christianity, were but shadows cast before. "The Platonist had discovered whither man was bound, but it was Christianity's mission to point the way." Thus, the earliest apologists and the first Fathers, practical men, using the material at hand, sought to harmonize divine Revelation with the symbolism of pagan cults and the principles of Greek philosophy. "The result was a philosophy based on the double foundation of reason and revelation," the philosophy of symbolism, "whose end was ultimate reality." Thus, any objective material event might be studied in its relation to the universal pattern; thus, conflicting Scripture readings might be reconciled. Thus, Berceo, and before him St. Paul, analyzes the ceremonial law of the Jews. And all through the long period of barbarian invasion, when science had fled to the monasteries, symbolic interpretation held on; and when learning revived under Charlemagne, symbolism colored every phase of thought and endeavor. "It was in fact," says Sister Teresa, and here I think there is a fundamental fallacy in her argument, "It was in fact as natural to the man of that day [the 13th century] to look beneath the surface of things for the reality as it is for the modern mind to rest satisfied with the surface convinced that there is nothing beyond it." But such reasoning need not concern us here where we are interested in Berceo and his rhymed interpretation of the symbolism of the Mass.

His poem is a part of that vast literature centering around the Redemption. The Mass is the meeting-place of man's quest of God and God's quest of man. Nothing, for a devout Christian, approaches it in importance; every word, act, and gesture of priest and people represents some part of the stupendous mystery; every detail of the Mass is of vital import. Thus, Berceo's poem is in the very middle of the stream of Christian thought and feeling. In the poem all the minutiae of the Mass are treated, but the treatment is uneven, sometimes with and sometimes without the full explanation. Berceo's distinction lies not in exegesis, but in being the first to transmit to any modern tongue the traditional interpretation. "From Saint Germain of Paris in the sixth century, and the Amalarius of Metz in the ninth, down through the 13th, there were numerous symbolical interpretations of the Mass, all of which . . . had much in common." But they were in Latin. Berceo made them accessible to the people. They were, moreover, in prose, and Berceo made them not only accessible but attractive. They were, finally, not only in Latin prose but dull prose; Berceo infuses his heartiness and adds color and sentiment. He does more; he makes a real contribution to literature and to language. Our author is not concerned with this side of Berceo, yet in closing her study she refers to "two literary qualities which may be called *Bercean* since they characterize in a special manner

all his writings. We refer to the simplicity and purity of language for which he is remarkable and which are nowhere more apparent than in the *Sacrificio*. These are the qualities which have won the praises of critics and which have so called forth the admiration of the Modernists as to set him up as model for imitation."

The Book of Good Love of the Archpriest of Hita, Juan Ruiz. Translated into English verse by Elisha Kent Kane. One thousand copies privately printed for the translator by William Edwin Rudge, New York, 1933, 320 pp.

Berceo died at about the time Juan Ruiz was born. Berceo was one of several notable 13th-century Spanish poets; Ruiz was almost alone in the 14th century. Probably on this account he has been excessively praised. It is absurd to call *El Libro de Buen Amor* "the most powerful book ever written in the Spanish language" as the eminent critic, Cejador y Frauca, has called it (I quote the words from Prof. Kane). It is not, as some other critic says, a lone tower in the desert of the 14th century. *El Conde Lucanor* is of the same decade; and neither of them is a desert edifice. A better judgment is that of Romera-Navarro: "la obra capital del siglo xiv." This it undoubtedly is.

To those who would know more about Juan Ruiz, his times (1283?-1350?) and his book, and do not yet know *El Arcipreste de Hita: Estudio crítico* by Julio Puyol, it should be said that this is the best introduction. Sr. Puyol reviews the state of Castilian letters, the personality and culture of Ruiz, and his first writings. This first part may be read alone. The second part is a minute study of the *Libro de Buen Amor*, its sources and metrical forms; of the Archpriest's ideas about love, woman, conduct, religion and human society; it ends with an analysis of the Christian and the Pagan principle as found in this book. Sr. Puyol's study is much more than it claims to be. Though published 28 years ago, I mention it here, because the first part, at least, should be of interest to those who read Prof. Kane's translation.

Amatory adventures, moral digressions, picaresque apologies, hymns to the Virgin, satire and burlesque, make up the singular mixture of mysticism and hedonism which, with the Archpriest's gift of narration and portraiture, would be remarkable in any age and amounts to genius in his own. Prof. Kane's translation is a close and sympathetic rendering. "When Juan Ruiz prayed or wrote hymns", he says, "I have used King James English . . . When he used slang or thieves' cant, I have done the same. At times Juan Ruiz is obscene; I have not soft-pedaled such passages nor uttered them sotto voce with smirks, but let them ring out *fortissimo con amore* for the greater glory of God." The translator's decorative initials are sometimes more startling than the text, and always amusing. Of the bookmaking it is enough to say that it has been done by Rudge. Of Prof. Kane one may add that his *Gongorism and the Golden Age: a Study of Exuberance and Unrestraint in the Arts* (Chapel Hill, 1928) is written with the same gusto and liveliness, "in order to secure, without the scandal of popularizing, at least a wider audience than the professionally erudite."

S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

A SPANISH PATRIOTIC CONSPIRACY

Julio Puyol, *La Conspiración de Espoz y Mina, 1824-1830; con noticias y documentos hasta ahora inéditos*, Madrid, Tipografía de Archivos, 1932, 180 pp.

"That romantic aurora of Liberty", the conspiracy of Espoz y Mina, whereby a band of patriots tried to rescue Spain and give her, a hundred years ago, constitutional government, is here for the first time fully told by an outstanding scholar who is, also, a rare master of narrative. Merely to read Sr. Puyol is a treat, whatever his subject; he has warmth, color, brevity, and above all clearness; add to that the timeliness of his subject and the hitherto inedited state of his sources, and we have all the elements of a valuable and fascinating book. Those who have read his study of the social phases of *El Arcipreste de Hita* or his contributions to the study of *La Crónica popular del Cid*, or any of his forty other studies, will be glad to read him in this quite different and modern field. Sr. Puyol is an "Académico de la Historia y de Ciencias Morales y Políticas" and Secretary of the Instituto de Reformas Sociales; in short, a leading Spanish scholar of extraordinary range of interests.

In *La Conspiración de Espoz y Mina*, he has gathered from a multitude of documents the story of an attempt to dethrone Fernando VII and to set up an Iberian State, a constitutional régime, under the scepter of the Braganzas, or, that failing, to place a French Bourbon on the Spanish throne as a constitutional monarch. The attempts to interest the Prince of Orange, the Dukes of Orleans, Gloucester and Sussex, Canning, Bolívar, the Emperors of Russia and Brazil; efforts to raise money; various plans for the coup d'état; participation of certain grandees; and, finally, the manifestos which, his endeavors balked and illusions vanished, Mina sent to his agents, ordering suspension of effort until more propitious times—all this is set forth in 100 pages ending with Louis-Philippe on the French throne and Fernando VII shooting and hanging Spanish patriots. "Y cuando verdugos y piquetes terminaron su bárbara faena, el pueblo español, que al contemplar el espectáculo sangriento creía volver a los días del Terror, recobró al fin el sosiego, empalmando la trágica emoción de los suplicios con el holgorio de unos regocijos públicos, decretados de real orden para celebrar la primera fiesta onomástica de una princesa que acababa de cumplir un mes y que antes de tres años iba a ocupar un puesto en el catálogo de los monarcas hispanos con el nombre de Isabel II." Yes, "empalmando"; that is the right word; not the Spanish alone but all people splice their agony to their jollifications.

S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

MEDIAEVAL FRENCH DRAMA

Dorothy Penn, *The Staging of the "Miracles de Notre Dame par Personnages" of MS Cangé, N. Y.*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1933, 95 pp.

The Religious Drama of 14th-century France would be poorly illustrated today if it were not for two MS volumes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, listed as *anc. fonds fr.* 819 and 820. These were among the treasures purchased by

Louis XV in 1733 from Imbert de Cangé and they sometimes bear the classification MSS Cangé 13 and 14.¹ The first volume contains 20 miracles of the Virgin, and the second has 18. Certain of the individual miracles, numbers 1, 5, 6, 12, 13, 21, 23-29, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 39, have been published variously in the course of the 19th century by such editors as Du Méril, and Monmerqué and Michel, but a satisfactory text of the entire series was first made by Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert in 1876-93 for the Société des Anciens Textes Français.

These miracle plays have been discussed many times, but Miss Penn's study is the first to make a systematic investigation of their stage-settings and of the technical problems which their staging must have presented. The basis of her study was a doctoral dissertation prepared at the University of Wisconsin under the direction of Prof. Hugh A. Smith; and it reflects credit upon both the author and the nature of her graduate study. Miss Penn's analyses of the staging, the devices and the gradual progress in dramatic technique, are clear and well presented, aided by a group of diagrams which supplement the text. As we should expect, there are no startling conclusions, but the work will be found very useful by any student of medieval drama.

Miss Penn demonstrates quite conclusively that these miracles (performed 1345-1380?) fall into three well-defined groups in their progress in staging. I still hesitate before accepting the frequent contention that they were presented, all of them, on an indoor stage and that the audience was restricted to the members of a guild, which Miss Penn places at Boulogne. Also difficult for me is the argument offered by Miss Penn and by many of her predecessors that only one, or possibly two, of these dramas was presented each year, and that they, therefore, extended over a 40 year period. How do we know that two or three of them were not played in succession, on the same feast day? Audiences at that time liked to be entertained longer than they do now! In the discussion of stage-devices Miss Penn hints several times that no modesty deterred the actors from stripping to the skin when the action so required. As Cohen has expressed it, this was not possible in the case of women characters, for their rôles were taken by boys.²

So much has been written on the history of the drama that no two individuals can possibly agree in their bibliography, unless they are, both, all inclusive. It is true, however, that some of the authorities which Miss Penn lists offer very little for her subject matter. They might have been omitted from the bibliography, and others added. An old reference which is still useful is Francis H. Stoddard's *References for Students of Miracle Plays and Mysteries*.³ This would have furnished Miss Penn with some important titles, including the miscellaneous editions of the miracles to which I refer in my opening paragraph. She might, also, have included works by Hone, Clarke, and Ahn on the miracles in England, and the histories of medieval drama by Charles Magnin and Clédât.⁴ It is possible that some apt material could have been found in

¹ *Catalogue des livres de M . . . [de Cangé] acheté par le roy au mois de juillet 1733* (Paris, [Jacques Guérin], 1733); consult also Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, IV, 73.

² *Histoire de la Mise en Scène*, etc., p. 232.

³ (Univ. of Calif. Library Bull., no. 8, Berkeley, 1887).

⁴ In any discussion of early stage-settings in France we should expect to find some use made of H. C. Lancaster's edition of *Le Mémoire de Mabelot, Laurent*, etc. (Paris, Champion, 1920), despite the difference in date which, in this case, was as great as 300 years.

Dumont's *Parallèle des Plans des plus belles Salles de Spectacle d'Italie et de France, avec des Détails de Machines théâtrales* (Paris, 1763), or in Le Pau's *Histoire de l'Etablissement des Théâtres de France*, (Paris, 1867).

K. Hase's *Die Geistliche Schauspiele* appeared in 1858, not in 1888. Miss Penn did not use the 1926 edition of G. Cohen's *Histoire de la Mise en Scène* (Paris), but the earlier edition of 1906. It is true that Cohen reproduces his early text exactly, but he prefixes to it 56 pages of additional notes, and adds an index. Miss Penn lists the first edition only of Creizenach in her bibliography; there is a third (1920). Miss Joan Evans' *Life in Mediaeval France* (Amsterdam, 1903) can now be more conveniently consulted in the French version (Paris, 1930). The *Théâtre français au Moyen Age*, of L. J. N. Monmerqué and F. Michel, is given by Miss Penn without the name of Michel, and with the date 1842, although it is usual today to list the work under both names, with the date 1839. There is something very odd connected with the date of this volume. I have searched in the bibliographies of Brunet, Graesse, Bourquelot et Maury, Quérard, Lorenz, and in the catalogues of the Library of Congress, Bibliothèque Nationale, Peabody Institute, Princeton University, etc., and I find the dates 1839, 1840, 1842, and 1889 with no indication anywhere of reprinting or of a second edition. The copy which I have at hand has no date; and yet the Library of Congress card gives 1842 without enclosing brackets! A modern reproduction was made in 1929.

I do not mean to suggest that additional bibliography would have altered the value of the main argument in Miss Penn's work. She has presented her material in a graphic and convenient form; and her book should be a standard reference for those interested in this particular problem.

URBAN T. HOLMES

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

UN FONDATEUR DE LA PENSÉE MODERNE

G. Doutrepoint, *Jean Lemaire de Belges et la Renaissance*, Bruxelles, 1934.

L'érudit belge qu'est M. Doutrepoint, l'auteur bien connu de *La Littérature française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), vient de faire paraître un livre extrêmement important, qui est le résultat de recherches anciennes. Comme on sait, les "grands rhétoriciens" font l'objet, depuis une vingtaine d'années, de nombreuses études et de rééditions. Il y a seulement quelques mois je rendais compte, ici même, de l'édition de la *Plainte du Désiré*, par Miss Yabsley, de celle des *Œuvres poétiques de Guillaume Cretin*, par Miss Chesney, de la thèse de M. Dupire sur *Jean Molinet*. Je viens de préparer une édition des *Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche*, qui est, en ce moment, sous presse.

M. Doutrepoint étudie ici l'écrivain le plus remarquable de tout ce groupe. Ph. Aug. Becker (*Jean Lemaire, der erste humanistische Dichter Frankreichs*, Strassburg, 1893) avait déjà attiré l'attention sur l'originalité de Jean Lemaire, en qui M. Guy, dans son *Histoire de la Poésie française au XVI^e Siècle* (t. I, Paris, 1910), n'hésitait pas à voir "l'un des fondateurs de la pensée moderne." C'est ce titre d'humaniste qu'on a donné à Lemaire, c'est ce caractère de novateur qu'on a accordé à l'auteur des *Illustrations* que M. Doutrepoint étudie dans le livre qui nous occupe. Il s'agissait de savoir ce que Lemaire avait connu de

l'antiquité, comment il l'avait comprise, en quoi il se distinguait de ses contemporains, et pourquoi il a été considéré comme un précurseur.

Dans l'Introduction, M. D. reprend les discussions qu'on a soulevées sur le sens du titre "de Belges" dont Jean Lemaire fait suivre son nom. Faut-il comprendre *de Bavay* ou *de Belgique*? Il semble difficile d'être aussi affirmatif que P. Spaak (*Jean Lemaire de Belges*, Paris, 1926) et il est plus prudent de dire, comme le propose M. Doutrepoint, que Lemaire est né dans le pays compris entre Bavay et la Sambre. Puis M. D. cherche à savoir quels liens de parenté existaient entre Lemaire et Molinet. Dans sa thèse récente (*ouvr. cit.*), M. Dupire essaie de montrer que Jean Molinet était, non le parent, mais le parrain de Lemaire. Là encore le doute est permis. L'Introduction se termine par une trentaine de pages dans lesquelles M. D. étudie le sens de l'expression "littérature belge", et s'occupe de rechercher dans quelle mesure les lettres françaises de Belgique sont autonomes.

Dans le premier chapitre de son livre, M. D. examine les *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye*. Il nous dit "l'absence de plan régulier et le manque d'unité dans le ton" qu'on observe dans cet ouvrage, dont Lemaire a conçu les diverses parties à différentes époques de sa vie aventureuse et mouvementée. Entre temps il a changé de point de vue, d'objectif.

L'érudition dont Lemaire fait montre n'est souvent que de seconde main.

Il avait, en effet, découvert une collection de documents, qu'il utilise abondamment, c'est l'œuvre de Jean Nanni de Viterbe (Johannes Annius Viterbensis) les *Antiquitatum variarum volumina* XVII. Lemaire a ainsi donné à ses contemporains l'impression qu'il connaissait directement tous les auteurs qu'il mentionne et dont les citations sont parfois simplement transcrites de l'ouvrage d'Annius. M. D. indique, avec preuves à l'appui, les nombreux emprunts que Lemaire a faits à Annius. Mais, comme M. D. le remarque, il ne faut pas trop se hâter de blâmer Lemaire d'avoir consulté une compilation de textes au lieu des textes mêmes. Quel est l'érudit qui ne recoure pas à de tels moyens? D'ailleurs, si Lemaire n'a pas toujours indiqué ses sources, ne peut-on pas voir là une espèce de modestie? Il aurait pu faire des listes plus complètes "d'acteurs alleguez". Lemaire a fait aussi des emprunts à Boccace dont il a utilisé le livre, *De Genealogiis Deorum Gentilium*. C'est ainsi qu'il trouve des citations et des renseignements dans l'ouvrage de Boccace et qu'il se contente le plus souvent de traduire les textes latins en français et de les présenter comme s'il les avait lui-même rassemblés. Il emploie le même procédé à l'égard de Jacques de Guise dont les *Annales historiae illustrium principum Hanoniae ab initio rerum usque ad annum Christi 1390* jouissaient d'une grande réputation au commencement du XVI^e siècle. Voilà les trois auteurs auxquels Lemaire a fait le plus d'emprunts; mais ils ne sont pas les seuls. Il faut leur adjoindre Darès de Phrygie et Dictys de Crète. Lemaire a, en outre, utilisé directement ou indirectement les œuvres d'un très grand nombre d'écrivains. Attirons l'attention, en particulier, sur Robert Gaguin, un contemporain de Lemaire, et l'auteur du *De Origine et gestis Francorum compendium*. Gaguin est un des inspireurs les plus importants de Lemaire qui, pourtant, à l'occasion le contredit.

M. Doutrepoint étudie ensuite la *Vraie Histoire de Cygne de Cleues* et essaie de déterminer quelle a été la part de Lemaire dans la composition de ce roman.

Il faudrait indiquer aussi comment M. D. examine la mention que fait Lemaire de la *Chronique de Bustalus*, et comment il conclut que Lemaire peut parfois déployer un grand souci de documentation directe et travailler en historien consciencieux. Celui-ci, en effet, semble avoir consulté le ms. de *Bustalus* pour n'en tirer que quelques renseignements dont il avait besoin, sans se laisser entraîner à de longues digressions.

M. D. nous montre que Lemaire a employé une traduction latine (par Laurent Valla) de l'*Illiade*; Lemaire ne savait pas le grec et n'a connu la littérature grecque que par des traductions latines.

Parmi les auteurs latins, ce sont Virgile et Ovide que Lemaire a consultés avec le plus de plaisir et qu'il admirait. Il est vrai que, s'il appelle Virgile le *prince des poètes latins*, c'est que c'est le titre qu'on était habitué à décerner au maître de Padoue. Virgile n'a pas inspiré Lemaire directement; mais il lui a bien plutôt servi d'"acteur" à "alleguer". Lemaire a beaucoup apprécié Ovide chez qui il a voulu voir un maître dans l'art de sentir et d'écrire.

Lemaire s'est aussi servi des ouvrages de la basse latinité et de la Renaissance italienne. Citons quelques noms: Fra Jacopo Filippo, Pietro Crinito, Marliani, Vbertin, Volsc, Aenea Sylvio Piccolomini, Maternus, Niccolo Perroti que Lemaire appelle "un grand homme", Marsiglio Ficino (1433-1499), dont l'influence a été des plus importantes sur les hommes de la Renaissance. Il est intéressant de relever le nom de Michel Riz. Mlle Gh. de Boom et moi, nous avons attiré l'attention sur un ms. de Michele Riccio (Riz), à la Bibliothèque Nationale (cf. *Modern Language Journal*, 1931, XVI, 249). On connaît peu de chose sur cet Italien qui a été au service de Charles VIII et de Louis XII, et qui a rempli l'office de conseiller aux parlements de Paris et de Bourgogne. Riccio, ou Ritiuz, avait composé plusieurs livres d'histoire (*de Regibus Francorum*, *de Regibus Hispaniae*, *de Regibus Hierosolymarum*, *de Regibus Neapolis et Siciliae*, *de Regibus Hungariae*), un *Traité du Devoir des Gens de Guerre et de leurs Privilèges*, et une œuvre qui n'a jamais été publiée, "Le Changement de Fortune en toute Prosperité", composée pour Marguerite d'Autriche.

M. D. étudie avec soin la crédulité de Lemaire, le peu de sens critique dont il fait preuve, malgré le désir qu'il manifeste de citer des auteurs qu'on croyait alors bien informés et qui faisaient autorité, malgré aussi le soin qu'il prend de concilier des opinions divergentes, d'opposer les auteurs les uns aux autres ou de contrôler leurs dires. Lemaire accumule les preuves, les témoignages, et il semble plus satisfait du nombre que de la valeur des documents. Il se révèle comme un homme de son époque, épris de "science" et désireux de faire étalage de son érudition. C'est un chercheur, toujours à l'affut d'un ms. négligé ou inconnu ou d'une édition rare. Mais les procédés "scientifiques" qu'il emploie sont non seulement sujets à caution; ils sont des plus audacieux et des moins sérieux. L'exégèse toponymique, telle qu'il la pratique, est singulièrement amusante. M. D. en donne de nombreux exemples: "Harbon, patron de Harbonne 'qu'on dit maintenant Narbonne', etc. . ."

Si Lemaire a modernisé l'antiquité, faut-il le blâmer? Il semble que souvent ses fautes ne soient pas de véritables anachronismes. Ce qui est plus grave, c'est qu'il prête des sentiments de son siècle à des personnages depuis longtemps disparus et dont l'état d'esprit était bien différent de celui des gens de son époque. Lemaire est un novateur en ce sens qu'il a donné plus de force à la

vieille légende troyenne, et qu'il l'a rajeunie grâce à l'emploi qu'il fait de l'œuvre d'Annius de Viterbe; mais c'est surtout par le caractère littéraire des *Illustrations* qu'il se distingue de ses contemporains et qu'il compose une œuvre artistique où se révèlent ses qualités d'écrivain. Au lieu de récits secs et pauvres, Lemaire nous donne des pages colorées, enlevées avec verve, et dont le style est remarquablement net et vif.

M. D. insiste très heureusement sur les qualités de poète bucolique qu'on trouve chez Lemaire. Notre rhétoricien a eu le sentiment de la nature; il décrit la beauté des paysages solitaires en une prose harmonieusement cadencée dont le charme est prenant, comme le passage suivant en témoigne: "La délectation du val plaisant et solitaire, et l'aménité du lieu coi, secret et taciturne, avec le doux bruit des claires ondes argentines partant du roc, incitèrent le beau Pâris à sommeiller et à s'étendre sur l'herbe épaisse et drue et sur les fleurettes bien fleurantes . . ."

Mais je veux terminer ce compte rendu, quoique le livre de M. D. soit si riche qu'il mériterait un examen encore plus minutieux. Non seulement M. D. étudie le style de Lemaire, mais il insiste sur les qualités d'humaniste du rhétoricien, il nous montre comment Lemaire a connu l'antiquité surtout par l'intermédiaire des Italiens. M. D. appelle plusieurs fois l'attention sur le rôle d'éducatrice que l'Italie a joué; il nous redit, plus particulièrement, comment elle a enseigné à la France du XVI^e siècle l'objet et la valeur des lettres grecques. Il faudrait parler aussi des pages que M. D. consacre, chemin faisant, au succès du *Roman de la Rose* jusqu'au XVI^e siècle, à la fortune littéraire de Dante, de Boccace et de Pétrarque en France.

On voit que le livre de M. D. est une mine de renseignements. On admire le travail, la patience, l'érudition du savant professeur de Louvain. Mais, pourrait-on ne pas être un peu irrité d'un certain désordre qui fait que souvent il faut attendre plusieurs pages pour trouver des renseignements sur des œuvres ou des auteurs déjà mentionnés? Un problème est parfois étudié à plusieurs endroits, comme c'est le cas pour l'*bomérisme* de Lemaire, dont M. D. parle aux pp. 45-46, 139-143, 298-304; il est vrai que, chaque fois, le point de vue est un peu différent; mais tout de même, on aurait peut-être pu éviter de fragmenter ce sujet d'étude.

Remarquons aussi une mauvaise leçon dans la *Plainte du Désiré*. M. D. (p. 177) cite le vers:

"Grebant, qui pleure d'un bon Roy . . ."

tandis que Miss Yabsley lit:

"Grebant, qui pleure ung bon roy, l'accompagne".

M. D. consacre plus de pages qu'il pourrait sembler nécessaire de le faire à examiner si Lemaire est régionaliste et si son style imagé le rattache à des écrivains comme Ruysbroeck, Froissart, Chastellain qui l'ont devancé et à des auteurs modernes comme Verhaeren et Maeterlinck. N'y a-t-il pas là—et dans les pages de l'Introduction sur l'autonomie de la littérature belge—une légère trace de provincialisme? En tout cas, on aimerait que tout cela n'occupât pas autant de place. Mais cette étude sur Jean Lemaire n'en est pas moins remarqua-

ble, et tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la Renaissance liront ce livre avec beaucoup de profit et d'intérêt.

MARCEL FRANÇON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

RUMANIAN SCHOLARSHIP AND LINGUISTICS

Nicolae Iorga, *My American Lectures*, with a Preface by John L. Gerig, collected and arranged by Norman L. Forter, Bucharest, State Printing Office, 1932, 192 pp. + 16 illustrations.

Professor Nicolae Iorga offers his lectures delivered on the occasion of his visit to the United States, early in 1930, and "by combining," as he states in his foreword, "one or more lectures into one chapter and by elaborating many points which could not then be developed" he found it possible "to gather sufficient material for a very slim volume." The result is a valuable source of information not only on Rumanian, but also on South-East European, history, politics, culture, literature, art, etc. Moreover, the subject matter overlaps and, from the vast store of knowledge of the Rumanian scholar, there come interpretations of European and even universal problems.

Professor Iorga, of course, is anxious to tell more of his own land and people. And he gives us, as a matter of fact, luminous illustrations of what Rumania and the Rumanians mean in Europe: "It was through Rumanian channels that new currents of science and arts began to flow in South-Eastern Europe; it was Rumanian intellectuals, such as Nicolae Milescu in theological studies, Demetrius Cantemir, Fellow of the Berlin Academy, in the new lay directions, Antiochus Cantemir in classical French poetry, Herescu (Cherascov) in the theatre, who introduced Russia to spheres of knowledge other than the Byzantine. Serbia was a subject country under Turkish domination, Bulgaria did not exist; the Greeks were long tutored by the Moldavians and Wallachians, who paid for and controlled their religious organizations, in the holy places, from Thessaly and Mount Athos to Jerusalem and kept up, for the benefit of Greek scholars and pupils, schools which had been built for the sons of the native nobles in Jassy and Bucharest; who printed, in their capitals and convents, books which were distributed as a work of charity to all the Christians of the East: Greeks, Slavs, Caucasians, Arabs and Syrians. The natural majesty of the Eastern Empire shed its glow upon the Courts on the lower Danube. And by those same capitals, in those same schools, under the guidance of those same ambassadors of Western thought, the ideas of political revolution, of radical reform, of national liberty, were transmitted to all the nations of the European South-East, living before Byzantine influence. And to-day, too, when any influence has to penetrate to those countries, it must necessarily begin by making its way to Bucharest, the centre of all Rumanian life and activity, the true intellectual capital of South-Eastern Europe."

There are numerous other items we would have liked to quote, but for the limited scope of these notes.

Professor John L. Gerig's documented introduction to the Columbia University audience and glowing tribute to the prominent statesman and historian is affixed as a Preface to the book.

Sixteen reproductions of paintings signed by T. Romanai illustrate it.

Bulletin Linguistique, Publié par A. Rosetti, Tome II, Paris-București, Librairie E. Droz—Editura "Cultura Națională", 1934, 249 pp.

Professor Al. Rosetti publishes his further discussions of "Phonétique et Phonologie", à propos of new material on the subject mentioned here previously,¹ and he concludes: "La *phonologie* n'est donc pas seulement la 'partie de la linguistique traitant des phénomènes phoniques au point de vue de leurs fonctions dans la langue'; son domaine est beaucoup plus vaste. En effet, la phonologie est la science du phonème dans la langue . . . La *phonétique fonctionnelle* ou *sémantique* (*phonologie*, selon la terminologie du Cercle linguistique de Prague) traite du phonème du point de vue de sa fonction dans le mot. L'objet de cette discipline est donc limité et l'on voit pourquoi la phonétique fonctionnelle ou sémantique n'est qu'une branche de la phonologie. Il n'est pas besoin de définir la *phonétique*; science des sons parlés, elle a son but en soi: l'étude et l'analyse des sons parlés à l'aide de l'oreille et des appareils de précision, sans se préoccuper du problème de l'emploi des sons dans les mots."

It is interesting for students of Rumanian to note that: "Il arrive que le sujet parlant note par l'écriture un son qui n'est plus effectivement prononcé, mais dont l'existence est assurée par l'idée que le sujet parlant s'est faite de ce son. En roumain littéraire, on écrit un *i* à la suite du *ts* de *bărbați*, etc., parce que ce son a été prononcé jadis et que *i* est la marque du pluriel des noms masculins à finale consonnante: *bărbat-bărbați* (pl.), etc. Mais cet *i* ne se prononce pas . . . Si toutefois *i* figure dans l'écriture, c'est que le sujet parlant a le sentiment de son existence."

In connection with this instance, the *Bulletin* publishes a paper by E. Petrovici "Le pseudo *i* final du roumain", from which we quote: "Une définition un peu plus détaillée de ce 'phonème' a été donnée par Weigand² et par M. Pușcariu.³ Pour Weigand, après consonne, l'*i* final s'entend comme un yod prononcé tout bas'. Il continue: 'Après sifflante, l'*i* final est chuchoté ou bien il disparaît complètement pendant le discours'. D'après M. Pușcariu, l'*i* final 'donne l'impression d'un *i* tout à fait fugitif, sourd (chuchoté), qui appartient à la syllabe précédente'."

As for Petrovici, this sound has the following acoustic characters: "1) Il donne bien l'impression d'un *i*. 2) Le larynx ne vibre pas lors de son émission. En effet, si *-i* vient après une consonne sourde, on ne remarque aucune trace de sonorité après l'explosion de celle-ci. 3) Il est extrêmement bref. Aussi ne forme-t-il pas syllabe. Un mot comme *lupi* est monosyllabique."

Professor Rosetti gives us two more enlightened papers, one on "Remarques sur les Diphthongues" and the other "Sur l'-n- spirant des Parlers dacoroumains actuels", the result of his linguistic investigations. Other contributions we find in this issue are: "Der dynamische Wortakzent der ungarischen Lehnwörter im

¹ *Rumanian Linguistics and Literary Classics*, ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, Jan.-Mar., 1934,

p. 68.

² G. Weigand, *Praktische Grammatik der rumänischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1903.

³ Pușcariu-Hertzog, *Lehrbuch der rumänischen Sprache*, Czernowitz, 1920.

Rumänischen" by the Budapest scholar, Lajos Treml; "La Répétition en roumain" by J. Byck; the lengthy study "Les Mots tsiganes en roumain" and "Mots 'reconstruits' et Mots attestés", both by A. Graur; and "Enquêtes linguistiques du Laboratoire de phonétique expérimentale de la Faculté des Lettres de Bucarest, II, Pays des Motzi" by D. Şandru. "Mélanges" by A. Graur and J. Byck close this second substantial volume of the *Bulletin*.

LEON FERARU

LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY

A POSTLUDE TO THE PAPINI CONTROVERSY

MORE than a decade has gone by since Papini's *Christ* appeared among mortals. His was a very human Christ, indeed,—a Christ in flesh and blood in whom was embodied the epitome of man's goodness. Now, as the cry for the familiar is strong in man's make-up, Papini's *Christ*, rendered in human formula, in universal translation, was, perforce, to reach varied and distant peoples. And, if Papini succeeded in delineating a universal Christ, no less achievement did the controversial biography attain for its author: it created a universal Papini.

Coincident with the publishing of the famous *Storia di Cristo* (1921) was Papini's formal rejection of his previous views on religion and his reëmbacement of the faith. This arch-enemy's return to the fold, be it recalled, gave rise to one of the bitterest of recent polemics. Papini's adversaries have damned his soul for his espousal of Catholicism. The damnation, as some of his foes would have one believe, is based on Papini's insincerity, and not on the return to the faith. Now, this accusation, were it substantiated with tangible proof, would carry damaging, if not sacrilegious, evidence against Papini. In absence of this proof, however, the accusation can only be something akin to calumny, either motivated by envy of Papini's rise in the world of letters, or else begotten by the frothy hatred of anti-religionists and anti-Catholics. To this sect of religion-haters Papini, the apostate, would be more welcome than Papini, the apologist.

Remote is the idea here to draw up an apologia for Papini. Enough has been said in this regard. Moreover, Papini needs no defender; he is past-master at hurling savage invectives. Neither is there intent here to offer a conclusion to this time-worn controversy. Conclusions, however formal and satisfactory to individuals and partisans, hardly ever close issues. The following discussions are offered, therefore, to point out humbly that most of the anti-Papini criticism has been launched along false premises.

To facilitate these discussions, it would be, off-hand, of some use to look back upon the post-War interlude,—a period of restlessness for European intellectuals, one of bitterness, indeed, and in some cases, one of complete disorientation. Fortunately for Papini this period was not one of wanton cynicism; it proved to be rather one of construction, of spiritual and mental reëvaluation. It was the period of the writing of the *Story of Christ* (1918-1921), during which time he found (perhaps to his satisfaction) the solution to the spiritual problems that he had so long revolved in his mind. In short, it ended his belaboured quest for the philosophic *truth*, for, in reality, the *truth* he had been

looking for was none other than *peace*, that *summum bonum* which faith identifies with the Deity. Papini's quest for this finality had been impatient, vehement. He had looked for it via the intellectual route, in the philosophies: he had examined Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche, the positivist, August Comte, among others. The doctrines of these philosophies either left him nauseated, or else were dispelled with sarcastic summations.¹ This period of philosophic study,—call it, if you will, Papini's "cerebral nomadism",—was to disclose the fact that he had been searching along a cold and unemotional path. Papini's *truth* or *peace*, like Saint Augustine's, could not be devoid of humanity, of emotion, and of fervor; it had to be in a sense complete, to satisfy Papini, the spiritualist, and Papini, the intellectual. The arts and letters having failed to yield the coveted secret, where else could Papini have searched for this satisfaction, if not within the compass of religion? Now is Papini to be condemned for this morality? Is he to be condemned also for having followed the examples of Saint Augustine and Saint Francis? Certainly not! To question either his morality or his sincerity does not lie within man's jurisdiction. Much less could his critics take the attitude of father confessors. This attitude, nevertheless, is exactly what they have tried to assume. The hopelessness, if not absurdity, of this attitude needs but little refutation. Now, a man's conversion is either sincere or it is not. Sincerity means one thing to the Catholic and something else to the pagan. For a Roman Catholic, therefore, to question the sincerity of a Catholic's act is simply to beg the question. Since, for a Catholic, sincerity is ultimately an intuitive feeling of faith which the non-Catholic cannot understand, the objection to Papini's conversion, then, has been based by some irreconcilables, from the very beginning, on an inadequate foundation. Logic points out that any premise built on false qualifiers can only lead to falsity.

Had Papini's foes, instead of attacking his sincerity or his morality, looked rather to the esthetic side of his conversion, they might have found more than one vulnerable spot in the kind of *truth* Papini has drawn up for himself: a composite sort of *truth* in which rings no little amount of ego. But, as intellectual egotism in the case of Papini is a weapon in defense of his personal decorum and dignity, one could easily overlook the sin. On the other hand, it is not easy to forgive a certain haughtiness and mercilessness with which Papini lashes against the detractor. Then, too, Papini's invincible scorn of the academic scholar and philosopher does not fit strictly within the code of ethics. (One sometimes wonders if Papini has had the patience, as well as the fortitude, to digest Aristotle and the medieval philosophers.) Has Papini unconsciously assumed infallibility with regard to moral, philosophical, and literary judgment? In short, this ultra-personalism cannot be sanctioned by piety. Faith should teach, rather, that spiritual and intellectual wealth is measurable in terms of humility. Or, has Papini, in his digest of Catholicism and its philosophies, done very much in the manner of some contemporary thinkers who, in having mastered Aristotle, proceed to lose their humility?

O. A. BONTEMPO

CITY COLLEGE

¹ For more exhaustive information relative to Papini's attitude towards the philosophers, as well as to his quest for truth, see Enzo Palmieri, *Giovanni Papini, Bibliografia* (1902-27), Vallecchi, Florence.

ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Régis Michaud, *Vingtième Siècle*, N. Y., Harper and Brothers, 1933, XXXII + 505 pp.

If the difficulties that the anthologist faces and the criticisms which he invites are, under the best of circumstances, almost innumerable, how much more dangerous and more daring is his task when he is compiling a chrestomathy of his contemporaries! Prof. Régis Michaud, one of the most active *agents de liaison* between France and America,¹ does not lack courage. In fact, as the 'foreword' to his recent anthology states at the outset: This is an anthology of styles and not of literary *genres* as such. It does not deal with contemporary French literature as a whole, but only with those authors who showed the greatest originality of thought and style and with the advance-guard." The first criticism to suggest itself bears upon the scope of this collection: what does the literature of today offer to one who is unfamiliar with that from which it springs, that with which it is in revolt? At first glance one is likely to be shocked by the absence of extracts from Barrès, Bourget, Bergson and Maurras, but in all fairness one must reflect that the generation (or rather generations, to include the cases of delayed influence represented by Gide, Proust and Valéry), which flourished in the decade 1920-1930, differed very greatly from the group questioned by 'Agathon' in 1913: the most distinguishing characteristic of the 'lost generation', as its American counterpart has come to be called, is its absence of *maîtres*. If the young men who wrote their *Examens de Conscience* in the *Cahiers du Mois*, and who are described in the essays of Marcel Arland and Daniel-Rops, derived much of their style from a study of their predecessors, they borrowed none of their ideas. To have called those predecessors '*maîtres*' would have seemed not only a misnomer but a profanation; each one of them, in one form or another, repeats the admonition: "Nathanaël, jette mon livre." From this point of view then, Prof. Michaud shows excellent judgment when he admits to his anthology Rimbaud, Lautréamont, and Mallarmé, and excludes Barrès, Bourget, Bergson and Maurras, for it is true that to the post-War writers the dead were more alive than the living.²

In limiting his anthology to "the new French prose and poetry", Prof. Michaud is exercising the anthologist's prerogative; but the title *Vingtième Siècle* is frankly misleading: something like *L'Après-Guerre* would have been more suitable.

Within the narrow limits of this volume Prof. Michaud's work surpasses the three volumes published by Kra, *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie française,—de la nouvelle prose française,—des essayistes français contemporains*. From Proust, Jammes and Gide through Giraudoux, Soupault and Reverdy, the authors chosen are very representative. Besides the notices on individual writers, there is an Introduction of 30 pages and a long Supplement containing notes on such

¹ His publications include: *Le Roman américain d'aujourd'hui*, 1927; *L'Esthétique d'Emerson*, 1928; *Panorama de la Litt. américaine contemporaine*, 1929; *La Vie Inspirée d'Emerson*, 1930.

² "Quand une jeunesse allait chercher pour maîtres des hommes qui, essentiellement, sont le contraire de ce qu'on entend d'ordinaire par ce mot, un Rimbaud, un Lautréamont, elle voulait signifier son horreur de tout ce qu'il y avait de dégradé dans un certain ordre établi, son désir d'en retrouver un autre" (Daniel-Rops, *Les Années tournantes*, Eds. du Siècle, 1932, pp. 193-194).

subjects as "Baudelaire, the Influence of Poe, Symbolism and Paul Verlaine", "La Poésie pure", "Style, Logic, Words, Punctuation", "The Advance Guards: Cubisme, Futurisme, Dadaïsme, Surréalisme" and "Humor". In general, the Introduction concerns itself perhaps too much with single writers and not enough with tendencies and movements, so that it *fait double emploi* with the individual notices. The Supplement, on the other hand, is admirable, especially for its notes on Baudelaire, Verlaine and Poe and its full treatment of the aims and significance of *dadaïsme* and *surréalisme*. The supplement chapter on Humor seems purely gratuitous, in view of the fact that it contains no examples which could possibly be humorous to American students; besides, there is more humor in Philippe Soupault's little poem *Monsieur Miroir* or in Giraudoux's parody of the interior monologue, *Il perché della caduta del marco*, in *Juliette au pays des hommes* (p. 151), than in all the extracts given here.

There are very few obvious omissions, though some place should have been made for essayists, and for Jacques Rivière in particular. Carco and Jacques de Lacretelle and Raymond Radiguet, among the novelists, should not have been left out, and Raymond Roussel, who hid his uncanny light beneath the Lemerre imprint while his friends were being published by Gallimard, Stock and Grasset, should have been included. The only lacuna among the poets is that formed by the absence of St.-J. Perse. On the other hand, when it comes to the choice of selections from the authors admitted to the collection there is more room for disagreement. It hardly seems representative to take all the Larbaud extracts from *Le Journal de Barnabooth* and all the Montherlant from *Les Onze devant la Porte dorée*. Likewise Mallarmé stands represented only by *L'Après-Midi d'un Faune*, though it is a good idea to give that in its entirety, and, perhaps, it left no space for shorter poems; and one would like to see *L'Abeille* among the selections from Valéry, the complete omission of whose *Monsieur Teste* is a lacuna of a more serious kind. Jules Romains' *Ode à la Foule qui est ici*, short enough to print uncut, would have exemplified *unanimité* better than any of the choices included. It is very doubtful whether "l'ange" adequately represents *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*. There is too much Paul Morand; and Prof. Michaud attributes too much importance to him both in the Introduction and in the individual notice. The choice of passages from Giraudoux, Proust and Mauriac could not be bettered. Gide's influence on Mauriac goes unmentioned, and in fact Gide's influence in general remains inadequately treated; and the contrast between Barrès' *culte du moi* and Gide's *culture du moi*, as someone has said, could be made much clearer than it is on p. XXII. Nor does the Roman Catholic aspect of Montherlant receive sufficient emphasis.

That the errors in a work of this magnitude, which contains so much precise information and documentation in the form of bibliographies, biographies and notes, should be so few is positively amazing. Those which have occurred are of slight importance. Edouard Dujardin's *Les Lauriers sont coupés* appeared in *La Revue Indépendante* in 1887, not 1888 (p. 185); Putouarey, identified in the notes (p. 468), as "Barnabooth's chauffeur" is le marquis de Putouarey, travelling in Italy when Barnabooth meets him in Florence after not having seen him for some time. Prof. Michaud refers to "*Le Temps retrouvé* where ***** the narrator meets his former friends and acquaintances at a ball given by the Duchesse de Guermantes" (p. 263), which is actually "*une matinée*

chez le prince de Guermantes" (T. R. I, p. 222). In these same pages on Proust there are several slight cases of carelessness: "the Balbec of his stories" (p. 261); "twenty volumes in all" (262), when there are but sixteen; "from 1906 to 1912 he worked continuously on his great novel", whereas it is well known that he did not cease work on it until his death in 1922.³ These are but errors of detail, which in no sense detract from the value of Prof. Michaud's work, and the only reason for calling attention to them is the hope that they may be corrected in a second edition.

It is to be hoped, indeed, that Prof. Michaud's anthology will reach many editions and that it will contribute to awakening an interest among American educators in the contemporary literature of France, to which too little attention is at present given in this country. Literature must be studied *dans les textes*,—and some sort of sifting has to be made in the vast amount of work published since the War. Nor is it too early to begin that sifting. Even anthology-haters will come to find this volume indispensable, for its historical and critical material cannot be neglected.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

G. Ward Fenley and Henry A. Grubbs, Jr., *An Outline Notebook of French Literature*, N. Y., F. S. Crofts & Co., [1933], V + 88 pp.

With the help of this companion-outline, which presents in a brief but comprehensive manner the more essential facts in the literature of France from the early Middle Ages to the present day, the average student will, no doubt, find his study of literary history greatly facilitated and, therefore, all the more enjoyable. The manuals cited are well chosen and are in keeping with the aims of the author. The bibliographical references are most precise, for they contain specific indications as to the pagination of the texts to be consulted, thus assuring definite and organized preparation on the part of the student. Notes on class-work or outside readings may be made on the blank pages provided throughout the book.

One of the decided advantages of this systematically arranged *Notebook* is that it may serve the general needs of all students wishing to have a bird's-eye view of the field of French literature, as references in English conveniently supplement corresponding ones in French.

ROSE-MARIE DAELE

HUNTER COLLEGE, EXTENSION

³ Further errata: "Marcel Arland, *Un nouveau mal du siècle* (N. R. F., 1923, rep. in *Messages* by the same" (p. 491). This essay was published in the N. R. F. in 1924 and reprinted in *Essais critiques*, 1931. *Messages* is by Ramon Fernandez. On p. 461 Petrarch's name is spelled "Petrarcha". On p. 184 and throughout the volume Valery Larbaud's name is spelled "Valéry", an excusable error since his own publisher frequently makes it, but which will be eventually corrected by the ubiquitous and vigilant members of the Larbaud-Club.

M. Constantin-Weyer, *Un Homme se penche sur son passé*. Edited by E. G. Fay and E. B. Ham, N. Y., Henry Holt and Co., XXXI + 194 + LXXX pp.

Maurice Constantin is the novelist of the Canadian Far West, of the dying Prairie where the advancing farmer-frontier is overwhelming the old cattle-frontier, and pitching the pioneer farmer against the roving cowboy. Once those vast plains were the happy hunting grounds of the picturesque cattle-punchers and horse-thieves; now they are overrun by the horde of foreign soil-tillers, who cut up the wide, wild, plain into large squares and dot it with new-looking villages and thousands of identical barns. They come from everywhere, —Russian Doukhobors, Mennonites, small, black-haired Bretons, tall, blue-eyed Irishmen, lean Yankees, stocky Sicilians, and the motley mixtures of all races from the four corners of the world.

The contacts and conflicts between the old possessors and the new invaders, are some of the main themes of Constantin-Weyer's works. From his first novel, *Vers l'Ouest* (1922), and through his *Manitoba* (1924), his *Cinq Eclats de Silex* (1927), or *Clairière* (1929), Western Canada has been the constant stage-setting for his virile stories which occasionally remind us of Jack London. But he has also drawn frequent subjects from Canadian history as, for instance, in his *La Bourrasque* (1922, published 1925), which presents scenes from the half-breed rebellion against the English in 1870 and 1885, or his *Cavelier de La Salle* (1927), and *Champlain* (1930), the great discoverers.

Un Homme se penche sur son passé is a rugged, high-colored, and swift-moving story which can serve as a good introduction of his work to the American college. It is wild-Western fiction, but of a higher literary value, and without the traditional stereotyped and interminable battles with monstrous-looking six-shooters. The author's realism is lyrical, and yet it succeeds in conveying a firm sense of the actual reality of the international characters who are thrown back into the primitive vigor and violence of frontier life. He has brought out in sharp relief, and even in the details of language, the differences in race and tradition which create barriers among them. The French cowboy's marriage to an Irish farm girl was shattered by just such a psychological conflict: ". . . Il me semblait alors que les différences de races influent tellement, que les façons de juger et de comprendre s'en ressentent, malgré même une civilisation commune. Ainsi, notre pauvre, triste et tragique histoire synthétisait ces étonnantes différences qu'on relève entre peuples différents." Devoid of the ballast of unending descriptions, this story of a French cowboy moves from dramatic climax to dramatic climax without any exaggerated theatricality. It should prove stimulating reading in the class room.

BARBARA MATULKA

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

H. E. Ford and Juan Cano, *A New Spanish Reader*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1934, XIII + 264 + (vocabulary) XXXVII pp.

This book consists of 19 stories adapted from Palacio Valdés, Manuela de la Peña Cuéllar, Echegaray, Narciso Campillo, Bécquer, Blasco Ibáñez, Rafael Iriarte Orbaiceta, Pérez Esrich, and Luis León Domínguez. Each work has been chosen with a view to securing suitable content for pupils of ages 14 to 18, thus avoiding the unfortunate practice so long prevalent of having such pupils read fairy stories and legends of scant interest to them. The stories are so simplified as to be limited in vocabulary to the 683 words of Buchanan's *A Graded Spanish Word Book*, plus 300 "inevitables"—words of lower frequency without using which the stories could not be told,—plus a number of cognates and the like, of which the meanings are obvious. The choice of idioms has been largely limited to those of the Keniston, *Spanish Idiom List*. The Introduction repeats the usual reasons for simplifying texts and the common explanation of the direct-reading method—reading by "direct and immediate comprehension" without recourse to mental translation. Such a statement as, "Translation, however useful a type of mental exercise it may be, is a hindrance rather than an aid to direct comprehension," reminds one that there must be a great deal the psychologists and direct-reading methodists have not yet learned about reading a foreign language. The book is intended for very early reading. The four kinds of exercises based upon each story are designed to facilitate or test the reading.

The book fails to convince one of the necessity for the simplification of other people's writings. One does not readily understand why, for example, there should be any reluctance to include the following words, listed as "inevitables" (p. 71), in a book for readers at any stage, no matter how early: *afeitar, anillo, barba, capa, cárcel, cuadra, cuello, diablo, diente, inútil, lavar, limosna, oso, peinar, rezar, uña, vaso*; or these (p. 141): *agujero, bañar, cabra, cerdo, cuerno, dedo, establo, estrecho, gracioso, beredar, bocico, madrileño, nadar, rabo, tata, trucha, vaca*. These words seem common enough so that the student of Spanish ought to know them at least passively as early in his course as possible. Sterile, indeed, seems the vocabulary in the stories of which the vast majority of the words are of still more frequent occurrence than those listed. Might not a fair reading ability be gained in minimum time through selected originals from which a few difficult passages have been excluded? One somehow feels that the student might be led to believe, in using a simplified text, that he is reading, and therefore can read, Blasco Ibáñez or Palacio Valdés, for example, whereas actually their work has been vastly altered before being placed in his hands. The book of Ford and Cano will, however, be welcomed as an excellent example of its kind by those who favor certain recent theories.

RONALD B. WILLIAMS

LAKE FOREST COLLEGE

IN MEMORIAM: HENRY ROSEMAN LANG

Dr. Henry Roseman Lang, Emeritus Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures at Yale University since 1922, and dean of the Romance scholars of the United States, died at New Haven, Conn., on July 25. He was born at

Wartau, Canton St. Gall, Switzerland, on Sept. 22, 1853, the son of Rev. Dr. H. L. Lang, and was educated at the Gymnasium of Zurich, from which he was graduated in 1874. After his arrival in the United States, he first taught at the Charlestown (S. C.) High School and the Swain Free School in New Bedford, Mass., and then became Professor of Modern Languages in Peabody Normal College, Nashville, Tenn., where he served from 1878 to 1884. The next few years he spent in study in Europe and was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Strassburg in 1892. Thereafter he was appointed Instructor in Romance Languages at Yale, was made Assistant Professor in 1894, and, finally, was promoted to the Barge Professorship of Romance Languages and Literatures in 1896.

Dr. Lang was the United States Delegate to the Centenary of Spain's War of Independence at Saragossa in 1908, at which time he was awarded the silver medals of Saragossa and of the Hispanic Society of America. He was Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy of Madrid, Geographical Society of Lisbon, Portuguese Academy of Sciences, Royal Academy of Galicia (Spain), Royal Spanish Academy of Belles Lettres at Barcelona, Instituto de Coimbra, and Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil; and a member of the Medieval Academy of America, American Dante Society, Hispanic Society of America, etc. He was also Knight Commander of the Portuguese Order of Santiago.

Dr. Lang's publications include the following: *Cancionero del Rey D. Denis*, 1892; *Liederbuch des Königs D. Denis*, 1894; *The Descort in Old Portuguese and Spanish Poetry*, 1899; *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelbano*, 1902; *Zum Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, 1908; Contributions to the Restoration of the *Poema del Cid*; Foreword to the Facsimile Reproduction of the *Cancionero de Baena*; and numerous scientific articles in American and European journals, of which the last appeared in January, 1933. From 1910 to 1924 he was Associate Editor of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

A few years ago Professor William Lyon Phelps spoke of Dr. Lang as "one of the foremost scholars in the world in the department of Romance languages, and the leading American authority on Portuguese literature"; and in 1922, when he became Emeritus Professor, the Yale Corporation extended its congratulations on his having received "international recognition of his attainment in his chosen field."

On Aug. 29, 1901, Dr. Lang married, at New Haven, Miss Alice Hubbard Derby, who died in 1928. A sister, Mrs. Gertrude Escher, and a niece, both of Zurich, are his surviving relatives.

J. L. G.

IN MEMORIAM: S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG

Dr. S. L. Millard Rosenberg, Professor of Spanish in the University of California, at Los Angeles, since 1924, was killed, on July 10, in an automobile accident, in Northern California.

He was born at Neudenan, Germany, on March 6, 1869, and came to the United States in 1885. After having studied at the University of Grenoble, where he received a *diplôme* in 1906, he entered the University of Pennsylvania

where he was awarded the following degrees: B.S., 1907; M.A., 1908; Ph.D., 1910. In the meantime he was Traveling Fellow of the Alliance Française (1906), and Harrison Fellow (1907-09) and Research Fellow (1909-15) of the University of Pennsylvania. During 1910-12 he was Instructor in Romance Languages at Swarthmore College, from which he passed to Girard College as Professor of Romance Languages, where he remained until he was appointed Assistant Professor of Romance Languages in the University of California, Southern Branch, in 1922. He was also Lecturer at the National University of Mexico City during the Summer of 1924.

Dr. Rosenberg was Corresponding Member of the Hispanic Society of America, of the Academia de la Lengua of Madrid and of the Academia de Bellas Artes of Valladolid; and was a member of the following educational and learned societies: Modern Language Association of America, American Associations of Teachers of Spanish and of Teachers of Italian, Modern Language Associations of Southern California and of Pennsylvania, American Philological Association, Linguistic Society of America, Modern Humanities Research Association of England, Hakluyt Society of London, Shakespeare Society of America, etc.

His publications include *La Española de Florencia*, his doctoral dissertation (1911); *Life and Works of Julian de Armendariz* (1917); and the following editions of class-texts: *Las Burlas Veras* (1912); *México Virreinal*, with R. de Terreros (1925); Baroja, *Zalacáin, el Aventurero*, with L. D. Bailiff (1925); *Libro de Lectura* (1927); Espina, *Talín y otros Cuentos*, with M. A. Zeitlin (1927); *Tradiciones y Leyendas Mexicanas*, with R. de Terreros (1927); Rivas, *Don Alvaro*, with E. H. Templin (1927); Baroja, *Páginas Escogidas*, with L. D. Bailiff (1927); *Anthology of Mexican Verse*, with E. H. Templin (1928); *Anthology of Mexican Prose*, with E. H. Templin (1928); *Páginas Místicas*, with F. T. McKeon (1929); León, *Tipos y Paisajes* (1930); Heras, *Horas Vividas*, with H. P. Earle (1931); Dario, *Poetic and Prose Selections*, with M. L. de Lowther (1931); and various contributions to reviews, the last of which is to be found in the present issue of the ROMANIC REVIEW. He also served as Editor of the *Journal of Delinquency*, and Associate Editor of the *Modern Language Journal*, *Modern Languages Forum* and *Hispania*.

Dr. Rosenberg was a bachelor, and was highly esteemed by his colleagues as a painstaking scholar and a very capable teacher.

J. L. G.

IN MEMORIAM: RICHARD THAYER HOLBROOK

Dr. Richard Thayer Holbrook, Senior Professor of French in the University of California, Berkeley, since 1919, and one of the foremost scholars and educators in the United States, died at San Francisco on July 31.

Born in Windsor Locks, Conn., on Dec. 13, 1870, Dr. Holbrook was a descendant of a family which, having originally settled in Massachusetts in 1636, played a prominent part in the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars, and one of whose members, Sylvanus Holbrook, was popularly called "The Father of West Point." He prepared at Andover for Yale, where he was graduated in 1893; and after having studied in the University of Paris in 1893-94 and 1895-96, in the University of Berlin, 1894-95, and in Italy, 1895, and Spain, 1900,

he entered Columbia University, from which he received his Ph.D. degree in 1902. He began his academic career as Instructor in Romance Languages at Yale (1896-1901), from which he passed to Columbia (1902-06). After having returned to Italy for study in 1906, he was appointed Head of the Department of Italian and Old French Philology at Bryn Mawr College, where he served from 1906 to 1916.

In May, 1917, Dr. Holbrook joined the Editorial Staff of D. C. Heath & Co., where he rendered excellent service until June, 1918, when he enlisted in the American Expeditionary Force for work in the Foyers du Soldat in France. In recognition of his unflinching devotion to his duties therein, the French Government made him Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1920. After having elected him to the Chair of French in June, 1919, the University of California at once designated him as Chairman of the Department of French, a position that he held from July 1, 1919, until his resignation therefrom on July 1, 1923. Among the numerous educational and scholarly societies of which he was a member, the following may be mentioned: Modern Language Association of America, American Dialect Society, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Medieval Academy of America, International Society of Experimental Phonetics, etc. He was also honored with the designation of Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Among his publications are the following: *Boys and Men* (1900); *Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, his doctoral dissertation (1902); *The Farce of Master Pierre Patbelin*, the first English translation (1905; 2d ed., 1914); *Portraits of Dante—From Giotto to Raffael* (1911); *Living French*, used by the American Soldiers in France (1917; 1921; 1923); *Etude sur Patbelin* (1917); *Maitre Pierre Patbelin* (critical ed., Paris, 1924); *Guillaume Alecis et Patbelin* (1928); and many contributions to scholarly reviews. In addition thereto, Dr. Holbrook was on the Editorial Staff of the *New International Encyclopaedia* in 1903, and edited, for class use, *Stories by Balzac* (1912), and, until 1930, works by eleven other French writers. One of Dr. Holbrook's texts, *Liberty French*, was so popular with the American soldiers in France that the Y. M. C. A. was led to distribute more than 200,000 copies of it.

Dr. Holbrook never married, and lived at the Faculty Club in Berkeley. The passing of this brilliant scholar, whose friendly and genial personality endeared him to all, leaves a gap in the ranks of American Romance scholars at a crucial time when his valuable services were most needed.

J. L. G.

FACULTY NOTES

AMHERST COLLEGE, MASS. Prof. Geoffroy Atkinson, who has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, will spend the coming year in Europe in research on French travel literature of the Renaissance. Willard H. Stearns has been appointed Instructor in French for the year 1934-35.

CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK, N. Y. The large volume, *Voyageurs, Robes Noires, et Coureurs de Bois*, by Prof. C. Upson Clark, Director of the Summer Session, has recently been issued by the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. *Dept. of French*: Prof. K. R. Gallas, of the Univ. of Amsterdam, and Prof. Gustave Cohen, of the Sorbonne, have become members of the Honorary Committee of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. On May 14th Prof. Gallas delivered, under the auspices of the Women's Graduate Club and the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*, a lecture on "Holland as an Intermediary for English Literature in France, in the Beginning of the 18th Century". The latest additions to the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies* include: Thor J. Beck, *Northern Antiquities in French Learning and Literature (1755-1855)*. Vol. I: *The "Vagina Gentium" and the Liberty Legend*; E. Kerney, *A Glossary of French Medical Terms Referable to the Eye*; H. A. Holmes, *Vicente Huidobro and Creationism*; F. Carmody, *Franco-Italian Sources of the Roncesvalles*; J. Gessler, *Pour les Historiens de l'Art: Le "Journaal" de C. Huygens, le Jeune. Extraits réunis et commentés*; Dorothy Penn, *The Staging of the "Miracles de Notre Dame par Personnages"*; W. B. Cornelia, *The Classical Sources of the Nature References in Ronsard's Poetry*; J. Gessler, *Fragments d'anciens Traités pour l'Enseignement du Français en Angleterre*; R. E. Turner, *The 16th Century in Victor Hugo's Inspiration*; Leo van Puyvelde, *L'Œuvre authentique d'Adam van Noort, Maître de Rubens* (5 full-page illustrations); M. E. Storer, *Contes de Fées du Grand Siècle* (Mme d'Aulnoy, Mlle Bernard, Mme de Murat, Mlle de La Force, Le Chevalier de Mailly); Series, *Masters of Modern Art*: F. Léger. Texts by Paul Morand, Waldemar George, Blaise Cendrars, etc. (35 illustrations); G. de Chirico. Texts by P. Courthion and Angelo Bardi, Poems by de Chirico. (53 illustrations); F. Van den Berghe. Texts by André de Ridder, Charles Bernard, etc. (112 illustrations); W. Kandinsky. Texts by W. Grohmann, G. Marlier, etc. (63 illustrations); Marcoussis. Texts by Max Jacob, Jean Cassou, Tristan Tzara, W. Uhde, M. Raynal, etc. (48 illustrations); Gromaire. Texts by Jean Cassou, P. Fierens, W. George, etc. (35 illustrations); Wadsworth. Texts by Ossip Zadkine, W. George, etc. (49 illustrations); Gargallo. Texts by L. Artigas, C. Zervos, M. Raynal, Alcantara, P. Reverdy, etc. (36 illustrations); Baumeister. Texts by W. George, W. Grohmann, etc. (35 illustrations). *Dept. of Spanish*: The *Instituto de las Españas* has published John E. Englekirk, Jr., *The Influence of Edgar Allan Poe in Hispanic Literature*, and Delos L. Canfield, *Spanish Literature in Mexican Languages as a Source for the Study of the Pronunciation of Spanish*. *Barnard College*: Miss Marguerite Mespoulet, Prof. of French at Wellesley College, has been appointed Assoc. Prof. in the French Dept. for the year 1934-35. *Columbia College*: The Ph.D. degree has been awarded by Columbia University to Simon R. Mitchneck, Instructor in French, on his dissertation, *Yon, a 13th-Century "Chanson de Geste" of the Lorraine Cycle. Published for the First Time with an Introduction*.

DENISON UNIVERSITY, GRANVILLE, O. Prof. F. D. Amner, after a year's leave of absence spent in study at Ohio State University, will return in the Fall. Henry J. Skipp has been appointed Instructor; Wm. N. Felt has been made Asst. Professor.

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA. The *Institut de Langue et de Civilisation françaises du Sud-Est des Etats-Unis*, which was founded in June, 1933, by Prof. Nolan A. Goodyear, will continue to be a part of the regular Summer Session. Asst. Prof. John A. Strausbaugh was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the Univ.

of Chicago on his dissertation, *The Auxiliary Use of "auer", "auer d", and "auer de" in Old Spanish: From the Earliest Texts to the End of the 13th Century*. I. W. Brock is completing his doctoral dissertation on *The Sources of the French Crown's Revenues in the 17th Century*.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON. The Ph.D. degree has been conferred upon Helen K. Bussell, *Alfred Capus and the Realistic Theatre*, and Ella I. Edwards, *Themes and Characters from the Roland Legend in 19th-Century French Verse*.

KNOX COLLEGE, GALESBURG, ILL. Prof. Harry Kurz is transferring to the Univ. of Nebraska as Head of the Romance Dept.; he is being replaced by Dr. Elliott G. Fay, of Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill. Dr. Kurz is preparing a volume on the post-War drama of France.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, EASTON, PA. Prof. James B. Hopkins will be absent on sabbatical leave during the first semester. Harold W. Streeter is completing his work for the Doctorate at Columbia on a dissertation entitled *The English Novel in France during the 18th Century*. Charles D. Herisson, of the Universities of Toulouse and Paris, will hold a Fellowship during the coming year.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD, O. Prof. H. J. Russell has been granted a leave of absence for one year to continue his studies at Ohio State University. Leslie Brady has been appointed Instructor.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE, SOUTH HADLEY, MASS. Assoc. Prof. Helen E. Patch has been promoted to the rank of Professor. Paul F. Saintonge, Assoc. Prof., who was the recipient of a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, was absent on leave during the first semester of the past year in order to continue work on a French MS in Paris. Asst. Prof. Suzanne Dedieu has returned to France. Miss Katherine W. Auryansen, who has been on leave of absence to continue her work for the Doctorate at Radcliffe, has resumed her duties as Instructor in French. Miss Edna Fredrick, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, was Instructor in French during the first semester, 1933-34. Dr. Florence Whyte has gone to Bryn Mawr College as Instructor of Spanish. The doctoral dissertation, *The Relation between Mediaeval Studies and French Literature from 1820-1860*, presented at Bryn Mawr by Mrs. Dorothy Doolittle, Instructor in French, has been published.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS. Doctoral dissertations in preparation include: E. W. Bieghler, *Armando Palacio Valdés*; Stanley Howell, *El Crotalón*; Girdler Fitch, *A Study of the Stage Techniques of Seven 19th-Century French Dramatists*; E. H. Price, *Voltaire and Montesquieu: A Comparative Study of Their Ideas*; G. E. Wade, *Tirso de Molina's "Santa Juana", Primera Parte. An Edition of the Autograph Manuscript, with Introduction and Notes*.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, N. J. Dr. Hunter Kellenberger has been appointed Instructor in French and Dr. Elbert B. O. E. Borgerhof has been engaged as Part-Time Instructor in French. Dr. Geo. E. Diller has resigned to accept a position in Rutgers University. The following doctoral dissertations have been accepted by the Board of Trustees: Raymond S. Willis, Jr., *Relationship of the "Libro de Alexandre" to the "Alexandreis" of Gautier de Chatillon*; William H. Shoemaker, *The Multiple Stage in Spain and Catalonia during the 15th and 16th Centuries*; E. B. O. E. Borgerhof, *The Evolution of Liberal Theory and Practice in the French Theatre (1680-1757)*. The Ph.D. thesis,

The Province and the Provinces in the Work of Honoré de Balzac, by Jared E. Wenger, Jr., has been accepted by the Department.

TUFTS COLLEGE, MASS. On June 18th an Honorary Degree was conferred upon Prof. K. R. Gallas, of the Univ. of Amsterdam, who has contributed such important works as *Fransch Woordenboek* (two vols.), of which several editions have been published; *Les Recherches sur les Rapports littéraires entre la France et la Hollande pendant trois Siècles*; *Lettres inédites de Lamennais*; etc.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, N. Y. Prof. René Jasinski, of the Univ. of Lille, as the Visiting Professor on the Mrs. Joseph T. Jones Foundation during the second semester of 1933-34, delivered a series of lectures on contemporary French drama. Dr. Howard L. Nostrand has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER. Prof. Mark Skidmore has received the Ph.D. degree from Columbia on his thesis, *The Saracen in the "Chanson de Geste"*.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR. Francis W. Gravit has been granted an American Field Service Fellowship to work on his dissertation on Peiresc. Stephen M. Lincoln, who intends to devote his time to his thesis, has resigned. Harry J. Skornia has accepted a position in Junior College, Arkansas City, Kan. Marc Denkinger has been engaged as Asst. Prof. of French, replacing Prof. Ehrhard. Charles Staubach will return after a year spent abroad. The Ph.D. degree has been conferred upon Fernand L. Vial on the subject, *Une Philosophie et une Morale du Sentiment: Luc de Clapiers, Marquis de Vauvenargues*.

UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL, CANADA. The degree of *Docteur-ès-Lettres* has been granted to Sister Marie-Elise Blouin on her dissertation, *Louis Mercier, Poète et Ecrivain catholique*.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA. Doctoral dissertations accepted include: Helen A. Shaw, *Conrad Badius and the "Comédie du Pape Malade"*; Anna E. Shumway, *A History of the "Minerve Française"*; Reginald S. Sibbald, *The Marionettes in the North of France*. Prof. Edwin B. Williams is preparing a volume on historical phonology and morphology of the Portuguese language.

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER, N. Y. Dr. D. L. Canfield, who was granted the Ph.D. degree by Columbia, has been engaged as Asst. Prof. of Spanish.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN. Doctoral dissertations in progress consist of: Morgan S. Carson, *The Influence of Molière on the Plays of Regnard Written for the Comédie-Française*; Andrés Sendón, *The Neo-Classic "Comedia" in Spain*; Gregory G. LaGrone, *The Life and Works of Enrique Gaspar*. Prof. Aaron Schaffer is preparing a volume, *The Parnassian Movement in French Lyric Poetry*. The doctoral dissertation of Randolph A. Haynes, *Negation in Don Quixote*, presented at the Univ. of Chicago, has been issued.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, CANADA. Asst. Prof. Emilio Goggio has been promoted to Prof. of Italian and Spanish.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, BURLINGTON. Prof. Clare Leonard, who has been an Assistant in French during the past year, will transfer to Vassar College.

VASSAR COLLEGE, POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. Asst. Prof. Marie H. LeLavandier has been advanced to Associate Professor. The following leaves of absence have been granted: Assoc. Prof. Margarita de Mayo, of the Dept. of Spanish (during the first semester); Suzanne L. Groult, Asst. Prof. of French; Ruth D. Venable, Instructor in Italian.

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. Dept. of Spanish: The contents of the November, 1934, issue of *The Spanish Review*, of which Prof. Joseph W. Barlow is General Director and Dr. Barbara Matulka is Editor, will include: S. L. Millard Rosenberg, *Spain in Modern California*; John E. Englekirk, "*The Raven*" in *Spanish America*; Maurice Rifkin, *The American Attitude Towards the Revolutionary Spirit in Spanish America (1800-1825)*; H. Chonon Berkowitz, *Galdós and Giner*; E. Herman Hespelt, *Source or Analogue of Blasco Ibáñez's "El Golpe Doble"*; Carolina M. Dorado, *Romantic Andalusia*; Florence Dolce, *Spain in Retrospect*; Reviews of recent books of Spanish and Spanish-American interest; Reviews of Spanish Class-Texts; Spanish Activities in American Institutions.

CAROLINE MATULKA

NEW YORK CITY

SALE OF THE BERALDI COLLECTION

ONE of the most important book-auctions held in France for many years was on May 29-June 1 last, when the famous Béraldi Collection which, in the words of Miguel Zamacoïs, in *Candide* of June 7, "n'avait pas son égale parmi les bibliothèques particulières connues", was dispersed at the Galerie Charpentier in Paris. Begun in 1872 by the bibliophile, Henri Béraldi, who wrote later on a valuable *Histoire de la Reliure au XIXe Siècle* (4 vols.), it was continued until his death, in 1931, at the age of more than 80 years. The first part of the Collection that was offered for sale consisted of only 355 books, of which 277 were from the 18th century and 78 from the 16th and 17th centuries. The beautiful sale-catalogue, limited to an edition of 1,000 copies, now selling at 250 fr. each, was prepared by the director of the auction, Léopold Carteret, author of *Le Trésor du Bibliophile* (1924-28).

The gem of the collection,—"*sans doute le plus beau livre du monde*", according to M. Zamacoïs—was "*les deux volumes in-quarto des fameux Contes de La Fontaine, contenant le manuscrit calligraphié à l'encre rouge et noire sur papier vélin, orné de fleurons et de culs-de-lampe imités de Choard, et illustré—ô merveille!—de 57 compositions de Fragonard exécutées à la sépia.*" This treasure was not put up at auction, for fear it might go to a foreign country, but was purchased privately by the French Government, for a price said to be 2,000,000 fr., through a Committee headed by President Lebrun and Premier Doumergue and organized by the Fondation Dutuit. It may be added that these 57 original drawings of Fragonard were purchased, in 1840, for 800 fr. by the bookseller, Leblanc. Resold for 1,200 fr. in 1844 by Charon to Feuillet de Conches, they were purchased later for 17,500 fr. by Baron de Portalis, who, in turn, sold them for 25,000 fr. to Paillet. In 1887, Margaud, whose shop in the Passage des Panoramas was later to be occupied by Rahir (for whose sale

cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, p. 182), offered them for sale at 50,000 fr., the price paid by Béraldi.

Other rarities disposed of at the auction include the following: *Conradi Gesneri Medici Tigurini Historiae Animalum* (1550), ornamented with colored wood-cuts and bound in a splendid mosaic binding for Diane de Poitiers, 210,000 fr.; Baïf, *Œuvres en rime* (Lucas Breyer, 1573), binding by Nicolas Eve, with a MS verse-dedication to Catherine de Médicis, 48,000 fr.; Berquin, *Idylles and Romances* (3 vols., Ruault, 1775-76), binding by Bozérien and illustrated by 32 original drawings by Marillier, 82,000 fr.; Choderlos de Laclos, *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1796), with 15 original drawings by Monnet, Mlle Gérard and Fragonard fils, 111,000 fr.; Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (4 vols., Didot l'aîné, 1796), containing 25 drawings by Quéverdo, 64,100 fr.; Gessner, *La Mort d'Abel* (1793), with 5 colored illustrations by Monsiau, 51,000 fr.; *Les Œuvres de Voltaire* (Cramer ed., 1768), containing 44 drawings by Gravelot, 105,500 fr.; Voltaire, *La Pucelle* (Kehl ed.), with 30 drawings by Moreau, 200,000 fr.; *Les Œuvres de J.-J. Rousseau* (1773-74), with 43 drawings by Moreau le Jeune and Le Barbier, 140,000 fr.; Demoustiers, *Les Lettres à Émile sur la Mythologie* (1809), containing 36 original drawings by Moreau, 76,000 fr.; Dorat, *Les Baisers*, only complete copy, 75,000 fr.; Laborde, *Le Choix de Chansons*, with very rare etchings, 232,000 fr.; La Fontaine, *Contes et Nouvelles en vers*, "aux armes mosaïquées de la marquise de Pompadour", 149,500 fr.; Molière, *Œuvres*, ornamented with 33 drawings by Boucher, arms of the Duchesse de Montmorency-Luxembourg, "le plus bel exemplaire ayant jamais figuré dans une vente", bought for 300,000 fr. by Maggs of London; *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* (2 vols., 1767-71), illustrated by Choffard, 305,000 fr.

M. Béraldi, who took special pains to purchase only "des exemplaires parfaits, de provenances célèbres, dans les plus somptueuses reliures, dans l'état le plus pur, et avec les dessins originaux des illustrateurs", also had in his collection the following: Simon Vostre, *Les Grandes Heures, à l'usage d'Angers* (1502), with 14 woodcuts; *L'Office de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie* (Anvers, Christophe Plantin, 1575); *Les Proverbes de Salomon* and his *Ecclésiaste*, paraphrased by Nicolas Guillebert (2 vols., Paris, 1633); etc. The total for the sale was about 7,000,000 fr. In a few months the second half of the Collection, dealing with the Romantic School and the moderns, will also be offered at auction; and it is expected that the prices will be even higher.

J. L. G.

VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—Prof. T. Atkinson Jenkins, the distinguished Romance medievalist, who retired recently from academic work in the University of Chicago, is now engaged upon the preparation of several interesting studies. As all Romance scholars are deeply indebted to Prof. Jenkins for his numerous valuable contributions, the ROMANIC REVIEW takes pleasure in extending to him their gratitude as well as their best wishes in the opening of a new period of productive scholarship in his very active life.—THE BELGIAN ROYAL ACADEMY has crowned Prof. B. M. Woodbridge's *Le Roman belge contemporain*, issued by the Publications of the Institute of French Studies,

Belgian Series, and has granted it a subsidy of 1,500 fr. A similar honor has been bestowed upon M. Bocquet's *La Littérature française de Belgique* (1932). —THE UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO announces the formation of an Ibero-American Institute, whose purpose is the collection and dissemination of knowledge concerning Hispanic America. Tentative plans are based upon a division of the Institute along the lines of Geography and Natural History, History and International Relations, Art and Literature, and, lastly, Economics and Trade Relations. In order to form a library adequate to meet these aims, contributions are solicited in the way of books, pamphlets, documents and publications of all kinds relating to Spain, Portugal and the nations of Ibero-America. All those wishing to coöperate in this worthy undertaking will please address Prof. Richard Pattee, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, P. R. —GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY held, during July and August, its third annual Seminar-Conference on Hispanic American Affairs. The subjects discussed by the lecturers were the following: "Modern Argentina", 10 lectures (July 2-13), by Dr. J. F. Rippey, Duke University; "Modern Chile", 10 lectures (July 16-27), by Dr. I. J. Cox, Northwestern University; "Modern Brazil", 10 lectures (July 30-Aug. 9), by Prof. P. A. Martin, Stanford University. —THE COUNCIL ON INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS has established a Latin American Center at 67 Broad St., New York. A library of several thousand books on Latin America will be available to students. —THE UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE conferred, on May 12, the LL.D. degree on Ambassador de Laboulaye. —NEW YORK UNIVERSITY accepted, on May 19, the gift of the Walter Tisé Memorial Library, consisting of 100 books dealing with Franco-American historical relations. —THE ROMANCE LANGUAGE HONOR SOCIETY, Phi Sigma Iota, founded some years ago by its President, Prof. H. W. Church, of Allegheny College, issued in May its *News Letter* (Vol. V, No. 2). The Society has now 21 chapters. —THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA's last *Service Bulletin* (Vol. XVIII, No. 17, April 28, 1934) is devoted entirely to the Bimellennium Horatianum, which Latin scholars plan to celebrate in 1935. At the end of the *Bulletin* is an excellent Brief Bibliography, with the following subdivisions: Editions, Translations and Adaptations, Books of Interpretation, Geographical, Articles in the *Classical Journal*, Plays and Songs. —FELLOWSHIP AWARDS. The Institute of International Education announced, on May 28, the award of five American Field Service Fellowships, each carrying a stipend of \$1,400, of which the following concern the Romance field: F. W. Gravit, University of Michigan, "Letters and Papers of Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc"; J. F. Moore, Syracuse, "Influence of the 'new science' of Galileo and Kepler, and of Montaigne on John Donne"; B. Weinberg, Chicago, "The Criticism of Realism in France, 1830-70"; and J. E. Wenger, Jr., Princeton, "Honoré de Balzac's Treatment of the French Provinces." At the same time announcement was made of the award of the Fellowships offered annually by the French Ministry of Public Instruction and French universities to graduates of American colleges and universities. Of these 22 Fellowships, 19 were in French literature and French linguistics. Finally, eight awards were made of teaching positions in French lycées and écoles normales. La Casa Italiana of Columbia University announced, on May 16, awards of 8 Fellowships and Scholarships for the study

of Italian. The Social Science Research Council (230 Park Ave., N. Y.) announced, on May 5, the award of 46 "grants-in-aid", totaling \$22,155.00. Of these, the following deserve note: S. M. Brown, Prof. of History, Lehigh, "The Diary of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud"; W. H. Callcott, Prof. of History, University of South Carolina, "Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana"; Marjorie R. Clark, "Organized Labor in Mexico"; J. L. Glanville, Assoc. Prof. of History, Southern Methodist University, "Italian Expansion since 1900"; and F. L. Nussbaum, Prof. of History, Univ. of Wyoming, "Commerce and Politics before and during the French Revolution."—ENROLLMENT in the different foreign languages in the Senior High Schools of New York City was, according to *High Points Magazine*, as follows, on March 15, 1934: French 71,793; Spanish, 37,045; Latin, 22,696; German, 22,550; Italian, 4,990; Hebrew, 475; Greek, 91.—CITY COLLEGE, New York, received, on May 24, a gift of 400 books from the Italian Government.—DR. M. E. COSENZA, President of the Italian Teachers Association, issued in June his *Twelfth Annual Report*, which reveals that Italian is now taught in the high schools of 12 States. The total registration for all of these States was as follows: 13,607 in June, 1932; 16,008 in Jan., 1933; 17,287 in June, 1933. In the colleges and universities, on the other hand, there were 85 institutions offering Italian in 1931-32, whereas, in 1932-33, this number had declined to 37, divided among 15 States. The total registration in these 37 institutions was 2,110 in the Fall of 1932 and 2,667 in the Spring of 1933. The above-mentioned 85 institutions, divided among 29 States, reported a total registration of 3,742 in Italian during the Spring of 1932 (Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIV, 1933, p. 281).—THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ITALIAN LITERATURE, prepared by the Italian Teachers Association, now contains 22,156 titles, 3,205 titles having been added during the year 1933.—THE NUMBER of foreign students in Italian universities increased from 487 in 1913-14 to 700 in 1921-22, and, finally, to 2,287 in 1932-33. Medicine is the favorite subject of these students, and Bologna and Rome are the most popular universities.—THE AMERICAN OFFICE FOR EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION in Florence (via dei Corsi 1) will hereafter be known as the Italo-American Institute. The offices, directed by Dr. B. de Peverelli, contain a clubroom and a small library, which are open to all American Students.—PROF. JEAN CANU contributed to the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (Vol. XVIII, 1933, pp. 919-942) an article entitled "Littérature et Géographie", which continues the discussion of the methods of research begun in the ROMANIC REVIEW in 1926 by Prof. Spingarn in his review of the thesis of M. Magendie (Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXI, 1930, 367-368; XXII, 1931, 87; 270; XXIV, 1933, 82; etc.)—A. J. BARTHOLD contributed to *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (Vol. 28, 1934, Part I) an interesting article entitled "La Gazette Françoise, Newport, R. I., 1780-81".—AN IMPORTANT COLLECTION of books and MSS, dealing with the Americas, was sold in Paris on June 18-19. The most interesting items contained therein were the following: Père Acuna, *La Relation de la Rivière des Amazones, traduite par M. de Gomberville* (Berlin, 1682), 300 fr.; *La Relation de l'Expédition de Carthagène, faite par les Français en 1697* (Amsterdam, Schelte, 1698), 742 fr.; R. P. du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles* (4 vols., 1667-71), 1,820 fr.; Père Hennepin, *Nouvelle*

Découverte d'un très grand pays, containing the first published engraving of the Niagara Falls (Utrecht, Broedelet, 1697), 570 fr.; La Pérouse, *Voyage autour du Monde* (4 vols., 1797), 4,850 fr.; La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes* (Paris, L'Huillier, 1582), 6,010 fr.; Champlain, *Voyages et Découvertes faites en la Nouvelle France depuis l'année 1615 jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1618*, 4,100 fr.; Champlain, *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale dite Canada*, containing the discoveries from 1603 to 1629 (Paris, Pierre Le Mer, 1632), 7,800 fr.; a 1640 ed. of the same, by Claude Collet, 5,800 fr.; *Mémoires du Comte de Grasse sur le combat naval du 12 avril 1782*, 3,360 fr.; a curious and unknown work of Lafayette, *Le Triomphe du beau sexe*, dated "du camp du général Washington, le 22 janvier 1778", 3,410 fr.; and two MSS, one by the engineer, Minet, companion of Cavalier de La Salle, "avec qui il s'entendait du reste fort mal et qu'il accuse de concussion et de sodomie", relating a voyage to Canada and a voyage to the Gulf of Mexico (partly unpublished), 58,600 fr.; and the other, entitled *Les Raretés des Indes*, dedicated to Louis XIV and bound with his arms, containing rare maps of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Rivers and 20 leaves devoted to the ethnography of the Indians, "riches en détails ignorés", 50,000 fr.—PART ONE of the library of the late Rev. Dr. R. Terry, President of the Newport, R. I., Historical Society, was auctioned in New York on May 2-3. Among the rare works sold were the following: Cicero, *De Rhetorica*, Venice, Jenson, 1470, \$4,000; Caesar, *Commentarii*, Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, \$3,300; Dante, *Divina Commedia*, first illustrated edition, with the full series of 19 engraved plates designed by Botticelli, \$2,750; Vol. I of the first dated Bible, printed on vellum, Mainz, Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 1462, \$2,250; Book of Genesis, 20 leaves taken from the Gutenberg Bible, \$5,100; Cicero, *De Officiis et Paradoxa*, Mainz, Fust and Schoeffer, 1465, \$2,100; George Washington's copy of Buffon's *Natural History*, \$1,900; Americus Vespucius, *Paesi nuovamente retrouati*, 1st ed., \$2,600; a 15th century French illuminated Pontifical, resplendent with miniature borders and capitals, executed for François, Count of Foix and Bishop of Andorra, \$4,900; Ptolemy, *Cosmographia*, 1st ed., Ulm, 1482, one of the finest copies in existence, \$3,000; etc. The total for the three sessions was \$167,876.—RARE EDITIONS sold at recent book auctions in Paris include the following: April 19, *Le Neveu de Rameau*, illustrated by Bernard Naudin, 1,370 fr.; May 3, *Le Décaméron*, 1757-61, illustrated by Gravelot, Cochin, Boucher and Eisen, 8,000 fr.; *Le Théâtre de Pierre Corneille*, 12 vols., Cramer ed., published by Voltaire for the grand-niece of Corneille, 8,900 fr.; *Les Œuvres de Molière*, 1734, illustrated by Coypel, Boucher, Blondel and Oppenord, 14,000 fr.; La Fontaine, *Contes et Nouvelles en vers*, Pierre Didot, 1795, illustrated by Fragonard, Malet, Monnet and Touzé, 17,500 fr.; Ovide *Métamorphoses*, Didot l'ainé, 1806-07, illustrated by Le Barbier, Monsiau and Moreau, 10,000 fr.; *La Bible*, Lyons, Jean de Tournes, 1554, arms of Diane de Poitiers, 25,000 fr.; *Suites d'estampes, pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et du costume des Français dans le XVIIIe siècle*, Vol. I, by Freudenberg, 1774, Vol II, by Moreau, 1777, 25 prints in all, 32,100 fr.; May 7-8, sale of the library of E. Rodocanachi (Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1934, pp. 87-88): St. Augustin, *Les Confessions*, trad. par Arnaud d'Andilly, 5,000 fr.; *Premières Œuvres de Philippe Desportes*, Mamert Matisson, 1583, 3,200 fr.; *Cérémonies pratiquées aux*

sacre et couronnement des Roys de France, copy of Michel Le Tellier, 4,600 fr.; La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, orig. ed., 10,175 fr.; 9th ed., 8,000 fr.; May 12-18, 1st sketch of *Madame Sans-Gêne*, 26,000 fr.—THE NUMBER of American students attending Summer Schools in France declined from 1,409 in 1931 to 1,214 in 1932, and, finally, to 767 in 1933. The figures for Italy in the same years were 92 (1931), 139 (1932), 133 (1933); for Spain, 92 (1931), 100 (1932), 79 (1933); for Mexico, 492 (1931), 363 (1932), 172 (1933); and for Puerto Rico, 36 (1931), 42 (1932), 29 (1933).—CONSTRUCTION of the Cité Internationale de la Pensée et des Arts, which will occupy a huge tract donated by the Paris Municipal Council near the Gare Montparnasse, is scheduled to begin this year. It will include men's and women's dormitories for single persons as well as apartments for couples with families, libraries, gymnasiums, swimming pools, clubs, assembly halls, concert rooms, a school, a children's playground, a special clinic and a medical dispensary. The Cité will be open to artists and intellectual workers from all nations, and, as it is non-commercial, all prices will be "moderate."—THE "INDEX TRANSLATIONUM" of the Institute of Intellectual Coöperation now contains translations appearing in 12 countries, including France, Italy, Spain and the United States.—LA SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE celebrated its centenary at the Sorbonne in June. Its President, Louis Madelin, stated that its first members were Guizot and Thiers.—THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE was reopened about May 1 after its first reorganization in 70 years. One wing of the building has been completely modernized, with electric conveyors and elevators, telephones and catalogues, allowing now the rapid transmission of requests for books and their delivery. In the Salle des Imprimés additional space has been created by the removal of catalogues, which have been placed in a spacious well-lighted basement, where there is also an information department. Finally the "dépôt annexe" at Versailles, constructed for the purpose of relieving the congestion in the old building, was opened in June.—ANDRÉ THÉRIVE is now turning the shafts of his criticism in *Nouvelles Littéraires* at the neologisms contained in Paul Bourget's recent novel, *Laborantines*. The words that he disapproves of are, first, the title itself, for he adds, "je ne crois pas à *laborantine*, pas plus qu'à *cerveline* qu'a lancé jadis Mme Colette Yver, pour désigner les intellectuelles." Next, he considers *insomniaque* inferior to *insomnieux*, created by the Goncourts. Furthermore, *s'amertuma* he finds "archimort", since it belongs to the "vocabulaire 'décadent' de 1895." He has read it recently only in Jean Martet's *Monseigneur*. Finally, as for *facultaires*, modeled on *universitaires*, with the meaning of "professeurs de faculté", "il n'y a qu'un malheur, c'est que nul ne sent le besoin de ce vocable, et que nul ne l'emploie, ni ne l'emploiera."—ANDRÉ THÉRIVE makes the following interesting observations in the *Nouvelles Littéraires* of May 26: that the *u* of *bluffer* and *bluff* should be pronounced as in *buffle*; that *zoning* is "inutile, ridicule", and that *zonage* should be used instead; that the term *speaker*, used on the radio, should be replaced by *annonceur*, just as the English use *announcer*; and that the title of the *Commission de la Terminologie technique française moderne*, founded in Nov., 1933 (Cf. *Revue de français moderne*, mars-avril, 1934), "est d'une horrible barbarie à l'égard de la vraie syntaxe. L'accumulation des adjectifs incoordonnés après le nom est monstrueuse. D'ailleurs à regarder de près, française

est inutile et *moderne* aussi."—MME JEANNE STREICHER's facsimile edition of Vaugelas, *Remarques sur la Langue française* (Paris, E. Droz), which was issued recently, aroused many discussions of the famous "greffier de l'usage." "Il avait, comme les académiciens d'aujourd'hui," says André Thérive, "de la bonne volonté et de l'incompétence . . . Il est le type des grammairiens-auteurs et des législateurs improvisés que personne ne discute et à qui on se réfère par tradition . . . En matière de style, il est fort judicieux. Il règle finement la rencontre des rythmes poétiques dans la prose et proscriit les parenthèses à tout propos. Il avait lu d'Urfé mais il ne prévoyait pas Marcel Proust . . ."

NECROLOGY—ARTHUR LESLIE OWEN, Professor of Spanish in the University of Kansas, died suddenly on May 9. He was born at Burlington, Vt., on Jan. 9, 1885, and was educated at the University of Vermont where he received the A.B. degree in 1906. In 1907-08 he taught languages at Betts Academy, Stanford, Conn., from which he passed to the University of Illinois where he taught from 1900 to 1910 and where he obtained the A.M. degree in 1909. In 1910 he began teaching in the University of Kansas, and four years later became Associate Professor of Spanish. When the Department of Spanish was created in 1918, he was given charge of it with the title of Professor. During the academic year 1913-14, he taught and studied at the University of Chicago. Professor Owen was a member of the Modern Language Association of America, American Association of Teachers of Spanish, Modern Language Association of the Middle West and South, and Corresponding Member of the Hispanic Society of America. In addition to serving as Associate Editor of *Hispania* and Contributing Editor of *Books Abroad*, he was also a contributor to the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, *Modern Language Journal* and *Modern Language Notes*. Among the class-texts he edited were Martínez de la Rosa, *La Conjuración de Venecia*, with J. T. Lister (1917); Gorostiza, *Contigo Pan y Cebolla* (1923); Martínez Sierra, *El Ama de la Casa* and *El Sueño de una Noche de Agosto* (1926); Pío Baroja, *Zalacaín el Aventurero* (1926); Ruiz de Alarcón, *La Verdad Sospechosa* (1928); and Perez Lugín, *La Casa de Troya* (1930). Professor Owen is survived by his widow, the former Sara Morton, whom he married on June 3, 1911, and by two daughters. Of him, his colleague, Prof. C. J. Winter, wrote: "He was a thorough scholar, one of the leading Hispanists of this country, and, as a teacher, he possessed extraordinary gifts."—GASTON P. CAMBRELENG, teacher of French at the Dearborn-Morgan School, Orange, N. J. for 26 years, died at Orange on July 1 in his 51st year. He was born in Fontainebleau, and was graduated from St. Cyr Military Academy. In recent years he had a French class in the Rutgers University Summer School. He is survived by a widow and three children.—MRS. HELEN HARTLEY JENKINS, prominent philanthropist and patron of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, died at Morristown, N. J. on April 23, in her 74th year. In 1922, New York University awarded her the L.H.D. degree.—DR. WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, Seth Low Professor of History at Columbia University since 1926, died in Berlin on June 7 at the age of 62. His works include *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*; *Latin America*; *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*; etc.—DR. FRED MORROW FLING, Professor of European History at the University of Nebraska since 1891, died

at Lincoln, Neb., on June 8 at the age of 73. His works include *The History of France* in *The History of Nations* series (1907); *The Youth of Mirabeau* (1908); and numerous articles.—PROSSER HALL FRYE, Professor of English at the University of Nebraska since 1896, died at Lincoln, Neb., on June 3 at the age of 67. Besides being a distinguished English stylist, he was known as an authority on Greek and French classical literature.—COUNT JOSEPH GABRIEL DE BARONCELLI, who for 40 years edited and published French newspapers in New Orleans as well as in Chicago, died at New Orleans on July 1 at the age of 82. He came to the United States from Avignon in 1892, and was, until 1930, editor and publisher of *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Orléans*.—LAZARE SAINÉAN, called "un grand Romaniste" by Prof. Gustave Cohen of the Sorbonne, died in Paris early in May in his 75th year. Born in Roumania, he came to Paris to complete his linguistic studies, which dealt chiefly with the history of the popular language. Later, Prof. Abel Lefranc assigned to him the task of supervising the linguistic criticism in his monumental edition of Rabelais. In addition, he wrote the following important works: *Les Sources de l'Argot ancien* (1912); *L'Argot des Tranchées*; *Le Langage parisien au XXe Siècle* (1920); *La Langue de Rabelais* (2 vols., 1923); and his *opus magnum*, *Les Sources indigènes de l'Etymologie française* (2 vols., 1925-30). He is survived by a daughter, Mlle Nizan, of the Comédie-Française.—AUGUSTE RONDEL, founder of "La Collection Théâtrale Rondel" (Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIV, 1933, p. 190), died in Paris early in June. A retired merchant he spent the last years of his long life, classifying the immense number of items contained in his collection.—ALFRED BRUNEAU, famous French composer, died in Paris, his native city, on June 15. He was born on March 3, 1857, and studied at the Conservatoire from 1873 to 1876 under Franchomme and, later, under Savard and Massenet. His works include many symphonic poems, ballets, songs, a *Requiem* (given at London, Feb. 25, 1896), and, especially, operas, in which he was one of the first French composers to apply Wagnerian principles, without, however, employing the latter's musical style. His first opera, *Kérîm*, was performed in 1887. Then followed the series based upon the novels of his intimate friend, Emile Zola. These consist of *Le Rêve*, produced at the Opéra-Comique, June 18, 1891; *L'Attaque du Moulin*, 1893; *Messidor*, 1897; *L'Ouragan*; *L'Enfant-Roi*, given at the Opéra-Comique in 1905; *Lazare*; *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*; *Naïs Micoulin*; and *Les Quatre Journées*. After the War, he treated different subjects, such as *Le Roi Candaule*; *Le Jardin de Paradis*, Hugo's *Angelo*, *Tyran de Padoue*, and *Virginie*. Among his orchestral works the best known are *La Belle au Bois Dormant* and *Penthésilée*. Besides having served for many years as music critic of *Gil-Blas*, *Le Figaro* and *Le Matin*, he wrote the following books: *La Musique d'hier et de demain* (1900); *La Musique française* (1901); and *La Musique de Russie et les Musiciens de France* (1903).—ALFRED SAVOIR, French playwright, whose real name was Alfred Posznanski, died in Paris on June 26 in his 51st year. He was born in Lodz, Poland, and came to France at an early age. In 1927 he formed, with Owen Davis and Frederick Lonsdale, a council of authors representing France, America and England to develop original scenarios. His plays include *Passy 3631*, *Le Dompteur*, *Lui* (produced as *He* by the New York Theatre Guild), *Deux Amis*, *Cocktail*, *La Margrave*, *Bluebeard's Eighth Wife*, *Time*

to *Love and Love Me Tonight*, in which Maurice Chevalier appeared on the screen.—MME MARIE-THÉRÈSE PIÉRAT, *doyenne* of the Comédie-Française since the retirement of Cécile Sorel in 1933, died in Paris on May 29 in her 50th year. Born in Paris of a theatrical family (her mother, Mme Pelletier, acted at the Odéon), she entered the Conservatory in 1900 and made her first stage appearance in Anatole France's *Les Noces Corinthiennes* in 1901. She joined the Comédie-Française in 1902, where she was successively *pensionnaire*, *sociétaire* (1905), *part entière* (1918), and, finally, *doyenne*. During her career she appeared in *L'Autre Danger*, *Notre Jeunesse*, *Paraitre*, *Chacun Sa Vie*, *La Rivale*, *Le Duel*, *La Marche Nuptiale*, *Juliette et Roméo*, *Les Sœurs d'Avril*, *Les Femmes Savantes*, *Aimer*, and, a few weeks before her death, *L'Embuscade*. She is survived by her husband, Guirand de Scevola, an artist.

—HUBERT KRAINS, member of the Royal Belgian Academy and President of the Association des Écrivains Belges, died suddenly at Rouen on May 15 in the 73rd year of his age. Born at Waleffes, Hesbaye, his first works appeared in *Le Coq Rouge* and *La Société Nouvelle*. Later he wrote his masterpiece, *Le Pain noir*, a novel of peasant life, which established him as the leading Walloon prose-writer of his time. Other works by him consist chiefly of collections of short stories, such as *Les Amours rustiques*, *Mes Amis* and *Au Cœur des blés*, which appeared a few weeks before his death.—JULIEN LAPIERRE, French poet, died in his native village, Bourg-Saint-Andéol (Ardèche) on April 8 at the age of 52. His works were devoted to the Rhône and Provence and include the following: *Le Secret de Vierna*, one-act in verse, in collaboration with Germain Daulaud (1909); *Le Baiser mortel*, a three-act love-legend, with prefaces by Léon Séché and Frédéric Mistral (1913); *La Mort de Graziella*; *Le Roman de Wagner*; *Stances à Hernani*; and the unpublished works, *Le Radeau du rêve*, a collection of sonnets on the Rhône; *Poèmes oubliés*; and his last piece, *La Fleur du Laoul*.—ALBERT-JACQUES BRANDEBOURG, French novelist, who wrote under the pen-name of Albert Erlande, died at Epinay early in May. He was author of the following poems and novels: *Le Paradis des Vierges sages*; *Jolie Personne*; *Il Giorgione*; *L'Enfant de Bobème*; *Le Défaut de l'Armure*; *Stella lucente*; *Vivre et mourir là*; *L'Immortelle bien-aimée*; etc.

—CÉLESTIN JOUBERT, French author, who was Honorary President of the International Confederation of Authors and Composers, died at Warsaw, Poland, on June 11, just before the opening of the 9th Congress of the Confederation.

—GABRIEL BERNARD, author of *Satanas*, *Les Compagnons de la Haine*, *Les Cinq Détectives*, *La Justicière* and other popular novels, died suddenly in Paris early in June at the age of 59. Also skilled in musicography, he wrote *Le Wagner de Parsifal*, *La Musique chez Herbert Spencer*, *Les Passions musicales de Balzac*, as well as the libretto for Philippe Gaubert's *Dansense de Corinthe et Aphrodite*.—RENÉ PIOT, French artist, died in Paris early in May. Highly praised for his restoration of the paintings of Delacroix in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre, he also executed, in 1908, "La Chambre funéraire," a vast collection of frescoes. During his last years he painted the scenery for the Grand-Opéra's productions of Berlioz's *Les Troyens*, Albert Roussel's *Le Padmavati*, Bachelet's *Le Jardin sur l'Oronte*, and Ariane et Barbe-Bleue. "Il travaillait à l'écart," writes Jean-Louis Vaudoyer, "sans se soucier de la mode, poursuivant un idéal qui fut celui des maîtres d'autrefois, qu'il avait lon-

guement étudiés."—FRANÇOIS SICARD, French sculptor, died in Paris on July 8 at the age of 70. His most popular work is a statue of his friend, Georges Clemenceau.—COUNT ALPHONSE DE CASERTA, son of Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies, and descendant of Louis XVI, died at Cannes on May 26, at the age of 93. His half-brother, Francis II, who reigned over the Two Sicilies in 1859-60, having died in 1894, the Count claimed his rights and protested against the appropriation by Victor Emmanuel of the title of King of Italy.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—AWARDS OF LITERARY PRIZES. The *Prix de la Renaissance* went to Drieu La Rochelle's *La Comédie de Charleroi*; the *Grand Prix Colonial*, to Maurice Martin du Gard's *Voyage de Madagascar*; the *Strassburger Prize* (15,000 fr.), to the series of articles entitled *La Vraie Révolution Roosevelt*, by Robert de Saint-Jean (b. 1901), editor of *La Revue Hebdomadaire* since 1927; the *Northcliffe Prize*, to *Passé à Louer*, a novel by Pierre Marois; the *Prix du Roman de l'Aide aux Femmes de Professions Libérales*, to Mlle Pascale's *Mlle Agnès, Lingère*; the *Prix des Vikings* to Bernard Roy's *Fanny ou l'Esprit du large*; and four poetry prizes, viz., the *Petitdidier* (12,000 fr.), to Fernand Mazade, "pour l'ensemble de son œuvre"; the *Emile Blémont*, to André Piot's *Chœur des Jeunes Hommes* (1914-18); the *Paul Verlaine*, to Raymond Christoflour's *La Rose et l'Ombre*; and the *Edgar Poe*, to *Enfants de la Terre*, by Camille Melloy, the Belgian poet. The *Prix du roman populiste* was awarded to *Madame Orpha ou la Sérénade de Mai*, a novel by Mme Marie Gevers of Angers, a cousin of Verhaeren; and the *Prix du Roman d'Aventures* went to *Le Poisson Chinois*, by Jean Bommart (b. 1894), author of *Sourcils joints* and *Le Revenant*. The *Prix Andersen* was awarded to *La Mort possède la clef*, a novel by Mlle Andrea Andreassen, who had been a domestic servant for 29 years and had recently lost her position, "parce qu'elle passait à écrire tout son temps libre." The Académie Française awarded its *Grand Prix de Littérature* to Henry de Montherlant (b. April 21, 1896), author of *Les Céliataires*, and its *Prix du Roman* to Mme Paule Régnier.—LE PRIX DE LA CRITIQUE was awarded in June to Prof. Marcel Raymond, of the University of Bâle, for his study entitled *De Baudelaire au Surréalisme* (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1934, p. 91). Prof. Raymond, who is 37 years old, wrote in 1922 an excellent doctoral dissertation on *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poésie française*.—LE PRIX RABELAIS, a literary prize recently created, will offer an innovation in that its jury will consist of persons selected from vocations other than literature, "qui, n'étant gênés ni par les préjugés d'école ni par les liens de la camaraderie, n'apporteront dans leurs verdicts que la libre et franche opinion du lecteur courant." It now appears that literary prizes in France have produced no better results than have those in Italy (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1933, pp. 70-71), for, writes M. Fernand Vanderem in *Candida* (June 28), "sauf le Goncourt qui seul encore compte, nos prix littéraires, à force de se multiplier, ont peu à peu perdu toute influence sur la vente et n'y exercent guère plus d'action que les feuilletons de la critique . . . Dans les débuts, le prix Rabelais souffrira donc probablement du discrédit dont pâtissent aujourd'hui la plupart des prix similaires. Mais, grâce à la composition populaire de son jury, il peut très bien, avec le temps, avoir raison de ces préventions et faire vendre, un jour ou l'autre, un nombre respectable d'exemplaires."—MAGGS BROS. opened in Paris

on June 24 an exhibition of 120 rare Portuguese books, printed between 1489 and 1569, which were bequeathed to Portugal by its former King, Manuel II. They included Abraham Zacuto, *L'Almanach perpétuel* (1496), used by Columbus in his well-known prediction of an eclipse of the moon to the Indians; a beautifully illuminated Book of Hours (1450-1467), made for the Infanta Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy; a MS relating the capture of Ceuta from the Arabs in 1415; a commentary on the Pentateuch (1489), the first book printed at Lisbon; a Life of Christ, printed at Lisbon in 1495; *Horas de Nossa Senhora* (Paris, Jérôme de Marnef, 1563); etc. The collection, famous for "l'harmonie de la mise en pages et l'incomparable beauté de l'impression," will be deposited in the Library of Villa Viçosa.—BENEDETTO CROCE was elected, on May 22, Honorary Corresponding Member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.—DUKE MAURICE DE BROGLIE (b. 1875) was elected to the Académie Française on May 24 to succeed the late Pierre de La Gorce. The Duke, whose father and grandfather were also Academicians, has long been noted, along with his brother, Prince Louis, for his studies in radiology. He and the mathematician, Emile Picard, are now the scientists of the Academy.—PREMIER GASTON DOUMERGUE and the Belgian Ambassador, Comte Henri Carton de Wiart, were elected on June 2 to membership in the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. The former succeeds Fernand Laudet and the latter, King Albert.—A MEMBER of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, unable to buy a new uniform, purchased recently a second-hand one for \$25. His wife, on opening the lining, discovered that it had been designed by the painter, David (1748-1825), that it had been made by the court tailor of Louis XVI in 1777, and that it had been worn by the sculptor, Houdon, by the dramatist, Lemercier, and by Victor Hugo.—PROF. GUSTAVE COHEN, of the Sorbonne, contributed to *Nouvelles Littéraires*, of April 14, a very interesting article on "Perceval-Parsifal chez Chrétien, Wolfram et Wagner", in which is found the following: "Dans une communication faite vendredi 16 février à l'Académie des Inscriptions, Charles Virolleaud, interprétant une fois de plus ces tablettes phéniciennes découvertes à Ras-Shamra et qui nous dévoilent la littérature sémitique du XIII^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ, nous raconte l'histoire du jeune dieu Aleyn, fils de Baal, enseveli par la déesse Anat, aidée de la déesse du soleil, au sommet de la Montagne du Septentrion. Il y restera six mois, vivant dans le monde souterrain, en attendant le jour de sa résurrection qui est celui de l'équinoxe du printemps. Mais personne n'a remarqué que celui qui, selon Robert de Boron en son *Joseph d'Arimathie*, doit devenir le gardien du *graal* en Avalon, c'est-à-dire dans les Champs Elysées celtiques, s'appelle aussi Alain."—CELTIC is still taught in France, according to the Dean of the Faculty of Letters of Rennes. In a letter to *Nouvelles Littéraires* of April 14, he states that, when Joseph Loth was called to the Collège de France in 1910, "sa chaire fut confiée—et elle l'est encore—à l'excellent celtisant qu'est M. Pierre Le Roux, élève lui-même de M. Loth." But, it may be recalled that in 1904, when d'Arbois was occupying the now discontinued chair in the Collège de France, Henri Gaidoz was teaching Celtic in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, and Victor Henry and Joseph Vendryès were fulfilling the same functions in the Sorbonne. Today none of these four has a successor.—JEAN LARNA's study ou *Louise Labé* (Firmin-Didot, 1934) stirred up another lengthy discussion of

the love-affairs of the celebrated 16th-century poet, known as *La Belle Cordière*, who, according to Faguet, wrote "les plus beaux vers passionnés du monde."—A STATUTE OF MONTAIGNE was erected recently in the Quartier Latin of Paris by a committee headed by Dr. Armaingaud.—PIERRE DE RONSARD, acclaimed during his lifetime as the Prince of Poets, now enjoys the unusual honor of having two skeletons. First, excavations were made in 1933 in the ambulatory of Saint-Cosme and a skeleton was unearthed, which was at once proclaimed as that of the poet by an archaeologist of Tours. Next, adversaries of the archaeologist "ont voulu avoir leur Ronsard," so an appeal was made to La Sauvegarde de l'Art Français, and further excavations were made, this time in the choir, resulting in the discovery of a second skeleton, which was re-interred, with much solemnity, in the original grave on June 10 last. But the Tours archaeologist "se cramponne aux ossements de son Ronsard," so that Cacambo is obliged to conclude, according to *Candide* (June 21), that "Ronsard n'est pas mort!"—A NEW EDITION of *Manon Lescaut*, beautifully illustrated by Brunelleschi, leads Léon Daudet to remark that there were three "tragiques romans" in the 18th century, viz., *Les Liaisons dangereuses* of Laclos, *La Religieuse* of Diderot, and the above novel of Abbé Prévost, which he calls "le chef-d'œuvre."—LOUIS LOMBARD relates, in *Candide* (June 21), that Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le Noir* is based upon the life of Antoine Berthet (b. at Brangues, Bas-Dauphiné, 1803), who shot Mme Eulalie Michoud, wife of a rich bourgeois, in the village church on July 22, 1827. M. Lombard supplies an account of the trial of Berthet, which took place at Grenoble, Dec. 3, 1828, and his execution on Feb. 23, 1829.—AN UNKNOWN PLAY by Victor Hugo, *Mille Francs de Récompense*, written in 1866, has just been published by Mme C. Daubray (Paris, Albin Michel). The sole modern subject treated by Hugo, it consists of 4 acts and contains some 10 characters. The scene is set in 182—and it has for its subject "l'esprit de rédemption," as in *Les Misérables*.—RENÉ DUMESNIL and J.-L. Demorest are publishing in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* a detailed bibliography of Flaubert, in which they note 135 changes in the second edition of *Madame Bovary*. These consist of modifications of forms or of words, of substitutions of one word for another, and of about 30 suppressions of passages.—LES ADMIRATEURS DE LECONTE DE LISLE placed, on June 3, a tablet on the house (64, Bd. St.-Michel) occupied by the poet from 1872 to 1894 while he was Bibliothécaire du Luxembourg.—THE AUCTION SALE of the personal belongings of Dumas fils, held at his former home at Marly-le-Roi on June 3, was described by *Nouvelles Littéraires* as "une cérémonie mélancolique et sans âme." Only one dramatist was present, and the only person who revealed any feeling was Mme d'Hauterive, his sole surviving daughter, "qui conservera le pavillon où se trouvent la chambre et le cabinet de travail de Dumas second". The "pillage et sans-gêne assez pénibles à voir" recalled another sale, described by its contemporaries as "atroce", that of the possessions of the Dame aux Camélias.—A TABLET, marking the house where Pierre Loti was born in Rochefort, was set in place recently by Claude Farrère, also a novelist of the French navy, and by Loti's son, Samuel Viaud. Later on, another tablet will be placed on "La Maison des Aïeules" at St.-Pierre-d'Oléron, in the garden of which Loti is buried.—THE RECENT PLACING of a commemorative tablet on the house at La Haye-Descartes, where René Boylesve was born,

brought forth a beautiful sketch of the writer by Henri de Régnier in *Nouvelles Littéraires* of June 30.—THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY of the death of Henry Céard (1851-Aug. 16, 1924), "l'avant-dernier des écrivains du Groupe de Médan", is being observed in Paris this Summer. According to Léon Deffoux in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (July 7), Céard's first two novels, *Une Belle Journée* and *Terrains à vendre au bord de la mer*, represent "l'expression du pessimisme le plus complet et le plus définitif . . . C'est la rigoureuse application du naturalisme intégral, la parfaite 'tranche de vie'", while his *A la mer* is a "court récit d'accent flaubertiste nuancé de comique amertume." In sum, Céard, the naturalist, was also "le lyrique du désenchantement", who sang, as he himself says, of "les retours plus douloureux après les aspirations non réalisées."—ABBÉ HENRI BREMOND's home in Paris (rue Chanoinesse, Quartier Notre-Dame) was marked in June by a tablet, affixed by his friends.—THE IDENTIFICATION of "Criticus," who, for the past ten years, has so carefully concealed his anonymity, is a problem that Paris literary circles are now attempting to solve. Some of his studies on "le style au microscope" were recently re-issued in a volume, and those rewarded with complimentary copies found therein merely a visiting card on which were printed these words: "Hommage de Criticus absent des cénacles."—PLAYS produced in Paris during the past quarter include the following: Stève Passeur's *La Bête Noire*, dealing with the directress of a sanatorium who cures her mentally afflicted patients by bullying them, called "incredibly preposterous" by Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of May 13; Jean Cocteau's *La Machine Infernale*, a modernization of the *Oedipus* theme, which, though Freudian, is "magnificently written and has a powerful dramatic quality", and in which Marthe Régnier distinguishes herself; *Dommage qu'elle soit une prostituée*, Pilmont's recent adaptation of the well-known play by John Ford (1586-1639); Henri Duvernois's musical comedy, *Les Sœurs Hortensia*, in which a man consoles himself for the infidelity of his wife by taking a mistress who turns out to be her sister; young Michel Duran's comedy, *Liberté provisoire*, an absurd and melodramatic account of a courtisan and a thief; the Odéon's most successful revival of Paul Féval's old romantic melodrama, *Le Bossu*, which Lucien Dubech calls "l'immortel chef-d'œuvre"; René Benjamin's *M. Fritz Franz Neumann*, a violently anti-German play, which is "entirely lacking in dramatic knowledge"; Alfred Savoir's *Le Joli Monde*, an absurd comedy in which a swindler forces the judge, who had previously sent him to prison, to execute an original fraud; Sacha Guitry's revival of his own play, *Mon Double et ma Moitié*, dealing with two men who resemble each other; Anne Valray's *Tante Marie*, containing, in 8 tableaux, the life of a subdued and unselfish old maid; and the Comédie-Française's revival of *Oedipe Roi*, with Albert Lambert in the title rôle, which was severely criticized by Lucien Dubech.—L'ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE D'EXPANSION ET D'ECHANGES ARTISTIQUES gave, in the Forum of Rome on June 30-July 1, special performances of *Horace* and *Britannicus*.—THE GREAT SUCCESS of Henry Bernstein's *L'Assaut*, in its recent revival in Paris, calls to mind, says *Candidé* of May 24th, when the play was first presented in 1912, the dramatist was accused of having exaggerated "les caractères de certains de ses personnages pour l'effet dramatique." "Or", it adds, "il se trouve que c'est cette outrance même qui fait leur extraordinaire vérité d'aujourd'hui."—JACQUES COPEAU announces that, next season, he will collaborate

with Charles Dullin in the Théâtre de l'Atelier and that he will give in October Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, which has never been played in France.—FRENCH FILM NOTES. A "documentaire" film, *La Croisière jaune*, being 2,500 feet of film extracted from the 50,000-foot record of the late Georges-Marie Haardt's motor-trip from Beirut to Peiping, is called, by H. L. Matthews in the *New York Times* of May 6, "certainly a classic of its type from any point of view." Other successful productions during the past quarter were Sardou's *Fédora*; *La Garnison amoureuse*, a typical French farce; Daudet's *Sapho*; Florence Barclay's *The Rosary* in the French adaptation of André Bisson; *Ces Messieurs de la Santé*, an amusing skit on an amiable swindler; *Bouboule Ier, Roi Nègre*, featuring Georges Milton; Marc Allégret's *Lac aux Dames*, based on Vicki Baum's novel, called "the most beautiful film of the year"; Georges Lacombe's *Jeunesse*; *Le Train de 8 h. 47*, drawn from Georges Courteline's play of the same name, featuring Bach and Fernandel; and Julien Duvivier's *Le Paquebot "Tenacity"*, drawn from Charles Vildrac's play, highly praised by Georges Champeaux and Jean Fayard.—ZOLA's HEIRS, who had protested, on May 10, against the Hollywood film of *Nana* as "idiotic, naïve and nothing like the original book", lost their suit in a Paris court on June 20.—THE FRENCH CINEMA OWNERS ASSOCIATION issued, on May 26, a letter addressed to the Minister of Commerce, in which it demanded an increase in the quota of foreign films from 242 for 1933-34 to 325 for 1934-35. The letter also stated, according to the *New York Times* of May 27, that "out of 174 French films available this year only 20 were excellent, commercially speaking, and 65 were of mediocre quality."—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS, produced in New York during the past quarter, include the following, with dates of presentation: May 8, the Mexican film, *Su última canción*, a commonplace musical tragedy, well acted by María Zea; May 13, a revival of Gerolamo Rovetta's drama of the Risorgimento, *Romanticismo*, splendidly played by Giuseppe Sterni's Teatro d'Arte as the final production of its sixth season; May 14, the Mexican dialogue film, *La sangre manda*, a hackneyed industrial drama, featuring Elisa Robles, called "a valuable addition to Mexico's growing company of excellent screen players"; June 3, the first Spanish-made dialogue film to reach New York, *Dos mujeres y un Don Juan*, which, notwithstanding some pleasing Sevillian music and dancing, adds nothing to cinematographic entertainment.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART acquired recently from a London dealer, acting for the Earl of Harewood, a beautiful "Holy Family with Saint Catherine" (82 1-2 by 60 3-4 inches), by the 17th-century Spanish artist, Jusepe Ribera. The canvas was purchased in Italy in 1810 by the French painter, J.-B.-P. Lebrun, husband of Mme Vigée, and was sold by him to Sir Thomas Baring of London.—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM has placed on exhibition two Siennese bronze statues of the late 15th century, about 58 inches high, representing Saints Catherine and Bernardino of Siena; and an alabaster pietà, Spanish, of the second quarter of the 16th century. The two former were purchased for \$10,000 each at the auction of the T. F. Ryan collection as Saints Theresa of Avila and Peter of Alcantara by the Spanish sculptor, Alonso Cano (1601-67); and the latter, costing \$1,700, was considered French, of the late 15th century school of Michel Colombe.—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM displayed in July 27 specimens of French swords, mainly

of the 18th century, bequeathed to it by the late J.-J. Reubell of Paris. They supplement the collection of European daggers and court and hunting swords which M. Reubell presented to the museum in 1926 in memory of his mother and of his wife, both of whom were Americans.—THE LIZZIE BLISS COLLECTION, now on exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, contains, in all, 35 oils and pastels, 13 water-colors, 18 drawings and 52 prints, by both European and American artists. Among the European works, those of French artists, especially Cézanne, are best represented.—THE FOGG ART MUSEUM at Harvard opened on May 2 its fourth exhibition of the year, tracing the history and development of the graphic arts in France. This last collection was devoted to 20th-century drawings and engravings.—THE NEW CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION, at Chicago, contains an excellent display of French, Italian and Spanish paintings, extending from the earliest times to the present day, all gathered from American galleries and private collections.—THE FIRST EXHIBITION of the Paris "Friends of Contemporary Art," headed by Mrs. J. W. Garrett (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1934, p. 190) consisted of works by Edouard Vuillard, regarded as one of France's greatest living painters, Dunoyer de Segonzac, André Masson, and two young Italians, Cagli and Fazzini.—DIEGO RIVERA and José Clemente Orozco have been invited to paint murals for Mexico's Palace of Fine Arts, which was begun in 1905 and is now being completed at a cost of \$30,000,000. The former artist states that he will reproduce the mural which was destroyed by Rockefeller Center.—A SPLENDID EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS by the three Le Nain brothers, Antoine, Louis and Mathieu, who lived in the 17th century, was held in June in the Paris Petit-Palais. Paul Fierens, who had stated in 1932, following the conclusions of Paul Jamot, that "il n'y a plus de mystère Le Nain", confides in *Nouvelle Littéraires* (June 30) that this exhibition, "la plus complète qu'il fût possible de mettre sur pied", revealed that he was wrong—a reversal of opinion in which Pierre du Colombier joins in *Candide* (June 28).—THE TERCENTENARY of the birth of Van der Meulen, the Brabançon painter of the Court of Louis XIV, will be celebrated this year. "Monsieur de Melun", as he was called by his contemporaries, painted battle-scenes at Versailles and Marly.—PIERRE GAXOTTE organized in Paris during June a most interesting exhibition entitled "Le Siècle de Louis XV vu par les Artistes." Included therein were Fragonard's "Diderot feuilletant l'Encyclopédie"; Louis Tocque's "Piron"; and other portraits by Drouais, Boucher, Aved, La Tour, Nattier, Chardin, Perronneau, Greuze, etc.—THE CENTENARY of the birth of the painter, Edgar Degas, was celebrated on June 19. It was he who called Zola, "un géant qui travaille le Bottin", and who described one of Gustave Moreau's paintings, glittering with gold and precious stones, as follows: "Jusqu'aux éléphants, qui portent des chaînes de montre." A sale of Degas' works, belonging to his niece, also took place in June. Prices paid were the following: a pastel portrait of Mary Cassatt, purchased by the Louvre for 50,200 fr.; a self-portrait, 44,000; "Christ between the Two Thieves", 21,100 fr.; etc. Notwithstanding the endless number of items sold at the time of the artist's death, the present collection seemed just as inexhaustible.—MORE THAN 200 statutes and statuettes by the French sculptor, Jean-Pierre Dantan (1800-69) were found recently in an Austrian castle, according to the Vienna *Morgen*. They disappeared from Paris, but how they came to Austria has not been re-

vealed. It is stated that there are busts of Paganini, Verdi, Balzac, Hugo, Rossini, Spontini, Bellini, and others.—LE PETIT-PALAIS purchased recently, for 125,000 fr., Corot's small "Marietta", painted at Rome in 1843.—THE THIRD AND LAST VOLUME of Edouard-Joseph's useful *Dictionnaire des Artistes contemporains* was issued in June.—THE RECONSTRUCTION of the interior of the Louvre, begun in 1927, is now almost complete, and 40 of the 45 rooms, which the plan included, have been opened to the public. The greatest improvement noted is in the section devoted to French and Italian sculpture from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.—LE MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS held, during the Summer, an "Exposition des Artistes français en Italie", which included works from the 16th century to modern times.—THE NINETEENTH BIENNIAL ART EXHIBITION was opened in Venice on May 12. It contained 4,000 works by 1,300 artists representing 15 nations, among which were Italy, France, Spain, Belgium and Latin-America.—THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT announced on May 18 the discovery in Vera Cruz, near Papantla, of a previously unknown five-story pre-Hispanic pyramid, a court nearly 100 yards long used for ball-playing, a statue of the Indian god, Tlalco, six feet high, and various other objects. The pyramid is said to prove that not only the Totonaca Indians, builders of El Tajin pyramid, lived in this region, but also the Mayans, Quiches and Huastecans.—M. B. FLORES, the Peruvian archaeologist, has discovered at Ayacucho, a city nearly 10,000 feet up in the Andes, subterranean ovens, which, he believes, the Incas used for transforming human bones into a sort of artificial turquoise that was later carved. Bones in every stage of the process up to the carved image have been found.—THE ART COLLECTION of Comte de Gramont was auctioned in Paris in June for a total of 2,037,000 fr. The highest prices paid were the following: Fragonard, "L'Heureuse Famille", 600,000 fr.; a *pot à oille* of silver, supported by its plate, signed Ch. Spire (1750-56), 175,600 fr.; two *pendants* by Hubert Robert, 120,000 fr.; a tapestry, 102,000 fr.; a Louis XV desk, 88,000 fr.; etc.—WORKS OF ART that brought the highest prices at recent auctions in New York include the following: May 3, Whitelaw Reid sale, two Brussels Renaissance tapestries, "La Chasse au Sanglier" and "La Chasse au Lièvre", \$4,000 each; Brussels tapestry, 1710, "Pomona Courted by the Sylvan Deities", \$3,200; another of 1700, "The Court of Venus and Hera on Mount Olympus", \$2,700; May 11, Daubigny, "Les Bords de l'Oise à Conflans", \$8,000 (sold for \$23,000 in 1928); Rousseau, "Lisière d'un Bois Coupé", \$4,200; Corot, "Environs de Sèvres", \$4,500; Meissonier, "Le Vedette", \$2,700; May 17, Bernardino Fungai (1460-1516), "Madonna and Child with Cherubs", \$2,100; Nattier, "Mlle de Migieu as Diana", \$1,500; Millet, "La Blanchisseuse", \$1,250; Corot, "Environs de Montpellier", \$1,150.—ART EXHIBITIONS held in New York during the past quarter include the following (with dates of opening): May 5, Paintings by André Bauchant, modern French "primitive"; Woodcuts, Wood-Engravings and Lithographs by Auguste Lepère (1849-1918); May 6, Paintings by Puvis de Chavannes, Monet, Renoir, Morisot, Degas, Segonzac, etc.; May 13, "Three Hundred Years of Landscape" at the Metropolitan Museum, including French, Italian and Spanish artists; May 17, "Masters of Modern Art"; May 19, French, Italian and American Oils and Water-Colors.—THE CHARPENTIER GALLERY of Paris auctioned, early in July, 22 paintings for 1,126,000 fr. The highest prices were obtained for the following: Eugène

Delacroix, "Chevaux à l'abreuvoir", 200,200 fr.; Cézanne, "L'Enlèvement", 180,000 fr., and "Pommes", a still-life, 153,600 fr.; Corot, "Vue de Gênes prise du Palais Doria", 83,000 fr.; Renoir, "La Couseuse", 110,000 fr.; and Gauguin, "Tahiti", 95,500 fr.

MUSIC AND OPERA—THE BASQUE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT is now seeking inspiration in music. Thus it presented, in San Sebastián, last June, Arturo Campión's lyric setting of the Basque patriotic legend, *Pedro Mari*, performed by the Basque-Navarran Grupo Jostari of Eusko Etxea (Iruña), in an elaborate mounting, while in Biscay Segundo de Olaeta conducted his Elai-Alai troupe in a festival of folksong and dance under the oak of Guernica, the historic "Guernikako Arbola" of the Basque national anthem.—SAN SEBASTIÁN'S Schola Cantorum Santa Cecilia, also known as the Orfeón Donostiarra, is now recognized as one of the most important choruses in Spain. Founded in 1896, its present leader is José Antonio Donostia, or Donosti, a Franciscan monk. Recently it gave an excellent benefit performance consisting of Padre Donosti's *Adiós ene maitia* and *Lare gorian*, two Basque songs, as well as Almandoz's *Nere maitia lo* and *Ay la le lo* and Padre Nemesio Otaño's *Villancico de salón* and *Pajarito*.—LA ESCOLANÍA MONTSERRATINA, the 1,000-year old sacred music school of the Benedictine monks of Montserrat, is now enjoying unusual popularity. The 115 members (35 boys and 80 men) of the Escolanía are trained three hours daily in both their classic polyphony and the Gregorian chant of Solesmes, and, according to the *New York Times* of July 22, give every evening sacred concerts, including modern masses by Perosi and Tebaldini (Pizetti's teacher). A teacher of this school, the Catalan priest-composer, Antoni Massana, composed the magnificent two-part oratorio, *Montserrat*, which was performed recently at the Palu de la Música Catalana in Barcelona. The second part, of which the text is by the Catalan poet, Jacint Vendaguer, was especially praised.—THE LONG-HERALDED "Teatro Lírico Nacional" of Madrid has not yet opened, because of lack of funds to carry out the grandiose scheme of its initiators.—THE BEST PRODUCTIONS of a mediocre Madrid musical season were said to be Pablo Sorozábal's setting of Cuyás de la Vega sketch, *El Alguacil Rebollado*, which attempts to revive the ancient *tonadilla*, with its traditional *tirana* and *seguidillas*; and two zarzuelas, *Xuanón*, by Moreno Torroba, and *El Pinar*, by Alvarez Cantos, neither of which rises above routine level.—LODOVICO ROCCA's opera *Il Dibuk* (*The Demon*), drawn by Renato Simoni from the Yiddish play of the same title by Shalom Anski, the pen name of the Polish Jew Poet, Rappoport, of Vitebsk, was called, by R. Hall in the *New York Times* of June 3, "by long odds the most significant novelty heard at La Scala this season."—THE CENTENARY of the birth of Amilcare Ponchielli, composer of *La Giconda* and other operas, is being elaborately celebrated in Cremona this Summer.—A JOINT COMMEMORATIVE PROGRAM, prepared by ten of Italy's leading opera houses for the coming season, will mark the centenary of the death of Vincenzo Bellini.—OTTORINO RESPIGHI'S OPERA, *Marie l'Egyptienne*, book by Claudio Guastalla, was given at the Opéra-Comique early in June. Emile Vuillermoz praised the stage-setting, which, he says, "est un immense triptyque de la Renaissance italienne dont deux anges silencieux ouvrent et referment les volets," but he finds fault with the music as "un peu trop développée" and as too sonorous for the voices. Yet the Gregorian

music of this *mystère*, he adds, "possède un mysticisme latent et une ferveur diffuse."—THE GRAND-OPÉRA presented, in the latter part of May, an opera in 5 acts, *Rolande et le Mauvais Garçon*, poem by Lucien Nepoty, based upon a *légende philosophique* of the Renaissance, music by Henri Rabaud, composer of *Mârouf*. According to Emile Vuillermoz, the music is "claire, logique, équilibrée et harmonieuse." "Cet art d'*bonnête homme*, au sens classique du mot," he adds, "fera sourire de pitié nos musiciens d'avant-garde." Though criticizing the libretto, Henry Prunières concurs in this opinion, and adds: "Rabaud is a worthy successor to the old masters of the Opéra-Comique, from Auber to Delibes."—LA SOCIÉTÉ WIDOR has recently been founded in Paris with the idea of spreading interest in the history and development of organ music. Its first aim is to reconstruct the organs of Saint-Louis des Invalides.—P.-B. GHEUSI, Director of the Opéra-Comique, who, in 1903, maintained in his "livre gnostique," *Montsalvat*, that Wagner's Parsifal came from Toulouse, contributed on June 25 an article to the Paris *Intransigeant* in which he gave enthusiastic approval to the supposed discovery of the Temple of the Holy Grail on Montségur in Haute-Ariège.—ROUEN is commemorating this year the centenary of the death of the composer, Boieldieu (1775-1834), its most illustrious son after Corneille, Flaubert and Géricault.—THE REVIVAL OF SARDOU, due to last year's *reprise* of *L'Affaire des Poisons*, to the recent screening of *Fédora*, and, finally, to the republication of the first volume of his *Théâtre complet*, recalled the fact that Offenbach once attempted, as a bet, to set to music his *Discours de Réception* at the Académie Française. The composer, however, finally gave up his self-imposed task in despair.—THE BALLETS of Ida Rubinstein appear to have been the sole compensating feature of an unusually dull musical season in Paris. Her first program, given early in May, consisted of *Perséphone*, poem by André Gide, music by Stravinsky, and choreography by Kurt Joos; *Diane de Poitiers*, scenario by Mme Elisabeth de Gramont, music by Jacques Ibert and choreography by Fokine; and, finally, Ravel's *Valse*, with a new choreography by Fokine. Gide's poem on *Persephone* was called "original, very beautiful at times, but too long." In the *Diane*, Ibert introduces themes, songs and dances of the Renaissance, including Passereau's lovely song, *Il est bel et bon*, and Janequin's *Chant des Oiseaux*. Mme Rubinstein's second program, given a week later, consisted of *Diane*; Maurice Ravel's *Boléro*, with new choreography by Fokine; and a novelty, *Sémiramis*, poem by Paul Valéry, music by Honegger, and choreography by Fokine. In the latter both the music and dancing were severely criticized because "le verbe poétique sombre dans la confusion, faute d'être perçu et compris."—THE JURY, selected by the literary journal, *Candide*, to award the "Grand Prix de Discothèque" (recorded music), failed to reach a unanimous decision. Consequently, Dominique Sordet, one of its members, who preferred the *Samson et Dalila*, sung by Mlle Cernay and M. Thill, answers those wishing to know the titles of the best disks of the year: "Prenez le palmarès de *Candide* et ajoutez-y le duo magnifique de *Samson et Dalila*."

MISCELLANEOUS—THE COMPANIONS OF BRENDAN, the well-known Irish-American historical and literary society, held its second annual dinner at the Hotel Cornish Arms, New York, on May 26. The speakers and their topics

were as follows: "The Celt Takes His Place in History", by J. L. Gerig, Ph.D., Litt.D., Professor of Celtic, Columbia University; "The Budget of the Irish Government", by Major Eugene F. Kinkead, Former Member of Congress, Chairman of the Board of the Colonial Trust Company; and "Aspects of Irish Poetry", by Kimball Flaccus, A.M., the Irish poet. Shaemas O'Sheel, the distinguished Irish poet and writer, who is Brehon of the Companions, was the presiding officer.—THE RIBAUT MEMORIAL FUND has been founded by Rev. J. A. F. Maynard in New York (114 E. 76th St.) with the aim of erecting a pillar in Dieppe to the memory of Jean Ribault (1520-65), who established on April 30, 1562, a colony of French Protestants near Port Royal, South Carolina, which was the first settlement of white men on this Continent. This pillar will be a replica of the one, bearing the lilies of France, which Ribault erected as a thank-offering shortly after his arrival. In 1924 the Florida Daughters of the American Revolution set up a similar pillar on the spot occupied by the original one; and, the following year, the U. S. government erected, at great expense, another pillar on Parris Island where Ribault built Fort Charles. It is planned to commemorate at the same time René de Laudonnière, who was despatched in 1564 by Coligny to carry aid to Ribault's colony and who built, in June of that year, Fort Carolina on St. John's River, as well as Dominique de Gourgues (1530-93), who, in 1567, avenged the massacre of these Huguenots by the Spaniards under Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519-74), when Fort Charles was captured by them on Sept. 21, 1565. Laudonnière had, in the meantime, escaped to France with a few of his followers and published in 1586 an account of his misfortunes under the title, *L'Histoire notable de la Floride, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par des capitaines et pilotes français.*—LE MUSÉE HUGUENOT DE L'EGLISE FRANÇAISE DU SAINT-ESPRIT, at New York, acquired recently an illustrated map of Florida made by Jacob Le Moyne de Morgues, who was a member of the second French expedition in Florida in 1564. The map is especially valuable for the considerable amount of information that it supplies regarding the South-Eastern coast of the United States at that time.—VINCENNES, Indiana, dedicated, on May 6, a plaza in memory of Père Pierre Gibault, the beloved missionary, who aided Gen. George Rogers Clark (1752-1818) in his Kaskaskia campaigns against the English in 1777-82.—THE ANCIENT SPANISH MISSION OF SANTO DOMINGO, founded in 1560 on a 250-acre strip of land near Brunswick, Georgia, is being restored by U. S. Government architects. Another Spanish Mission was recently excavated at New Smyrna, Florida, by archaeologists of Stetson University.—OLIVAD ASSELIN founded recently at Montreal, according to *Nouvelles Littéraires* of April 21, an intellectual and literary newspaper entitled *L'Ordre* (*Quotidien de Culture française et de Renaissance nationale*). It consists of 4 pages, and contains no general news items or advertisements. *L'Ordre* is, therefore, a worthy addition to the Franco-Canadian press, which, starting from *La Gazette de Québec*, founded in 1764, contains such illustrious names as *L'Ami du Peuple* (founded in 1832), *Les Débats*, a weekly, *Le Monde Illustré*, *La Presse*, *La Patrie*, *L'Action*, and *Le Nigog*, a satirical and literary review, founded in 1916. Alexandre Belisle's *Histoire de la Presse franco-américaine* contains an account of all these journals.—THE CENTENARY of the death of Lafayette was observed in various places of the East by commemorative ceremonies culminating in the special joint ses-

sion of Congress held on Sunday, May 20, at which President Roosevelt paid tribute to the great Frenchman by saying: "... and today we cherish his memory above that of any citizen of a foreign country." The Lafayette Exhibition, which was opened in Rockefeller Centre, New York, on May 5, contained many souvenirs, including the "Gatinais Cannon", captured at Yorktown and presented by Washington to Rochambeau. The New York Historical Society (170 Central Park West) also held an exhibition of Revolutionary mementoes. On May 4, the Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania held a commemorative meeting at Bethlehem, where Lafayette spent some time among the Moravians, when he was convalescing from a wound received at the Battle of Brandywine in 1777. The Paris exhibition was opened in the Tuileries Gardens on June 21. The Louvre displayed the splendid portrait, painted by Samuel F. B. Morse in 1824, which had been loaned by the City of New York.—LA CONCIERGERIE, the famous Paris prison where 2,742 victims of the Revolution spent their last hours, will soon become, itself, a victim of the economy campaign. Originally constructed as a fortress for the Kings of France, it was converted into a prison early in the 16th century. Among those incarcerated in it during the Revolution were Marie-Antoinette, Danton, Robespierre, Malesherbes, Mme Roland, C. Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine and Bailly.—THE "HÔTEL DES RÉSERVOIRS", Mme de Pompadour's former residence at Versailles, was acquired by the French Government early in May and will be converted into a museum for coaches and carriages, especially those now housed at the Petit Trianon.—NAPOLEON'S HOUSE at Longwood, St. Helena, which has been under restoration during the past three years, was inaugurated as a museum on May 5, the 113th anniversary of the Emperor's death.—LA VENDEE is now occupied in digging for lost treasure, ever since a peasant discovered last February 4,000 copper *tournois*, bearing the effigy of Louis XII, which netted him 6,000 fr. A year ago 5,000 coins, dating back several centuries, were uncovered through the pecking of a chicken.—"LA DEMEURE HISTORIQUE" is the name of a new association founded by more than 100 château proprietors for the purpose of maintaining the artistic and historic patrimony of France.

J. L. G.

